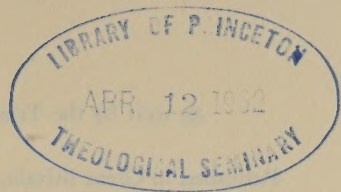


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THE LAYMAN'S PROGRESS

Religious and Political Experience
in Colonial Pennsylvania

1740—1770

DIETMAR ROTHERMUND



Philadelphia
University of Pennsylvania Press

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PREFACE

MY OBJECTIVE IN writing this study is to provide a balanced picture of religious and political activities in Colonial Pennsylvania. However, I have tried to avoid, as far as possible, a repetition of information that has already been given in the works of other historians. An examination of these works will show that the political side of the picture has usually attracted more attention than the religious one and that the English groups participating in the life of Pennsylvania have been studied more thoroughly than the numerous German groups which at that time made up a large part of Pennsylvania's population. The interaction of these different ethnic and religious groups, however, has hardly been studied at all. Therefore more space has been given to religious affairs in this study and the German groups and their interaction with the English groups have been examined more in detail.

The German groups attracted considerable attention in Colonial times, and their integration was a matter of concern to all politicians. Many of these groups participated very actively in the political life of the day, a fact which perhaps has been overshadowed by the quaintness of those groups that have preserved their identity up to the present time by withdrawing from society and cultivating their marks of distinction.

In examining these different groups and their interaction, this study is intended to be a supplement to such works as Theodore Thayer's analysis of the growth of democracy in Colonial Pennsylvania, G. S. Klett's and L. Trinterud's examinations of Colonial Presbyterianism, and F. Tolles' description of Quaker society (see Bibliography).

At the same time, however, this study was undertaken in order to introduce a new point of view into American Colonial historiography by focusing on contemporary attitudes rather than interpreting this period from the point of view of subsequent events. To this end I have used mainly letters, diaries, and denominational minutes, and have bypassed pamphlets, newspapers, and legislative documents. I have done so because I found that the sources I used yielded more information on personal and group relationships and because the general social and political history of the time as far as it can be reconstructed from contemporary newspapers has been described by such eminent historians as Carl Bridenbaugh in his "Cities in the Wilderness" and Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr. in his recent book "Prelude to Independence".

I had to limit my studies not only with regard to the type of source material that I used but also with regard to the number of groups to be studied and the amount of material to be taken into consideration. A complete survey of the activities of all religious groups would take years of work. Therefore I have presented significant samples rather than an exhaustive description. Some groups like, for example, the English Baptists, I have omitted from the study because their experiences largely paralleled similar experiences of other groups. On the whole, however, I hope that these limitations do not impair the general value of the study.

I chose for this study the period from 1740 to 1770 because it is marked by a change from group coherence to public life in religion (the Awakening) as well as in politics (the introduction of

ticket and campaign). I did not try to discuss in detail the antecedents of this period, nor did I want to analyze the later effects of the developments taking place at that time. For this reason I refrained from describing the period of Quaker oligarchy before 1740. Similarly, I omitted a discussion of the Stamp Act crisis and other political events leading up to the American Revolution. The first task has been very well performed by Quaker historians like Isaac Sharpless; the latter problem has been analyzed by scholars like E. Morgan in his recent book on the Stamp Act crisis (see Bibliography).

I am very grateful for the help and advice of many scholars, first of all my professors at the University of Pennsylvania: my advisor, Dr. Murray Murphey; Dr. Don Yoder; and Dr. Richard Dunn. I am also indebted to my teachers in Germany, especially Prof. Dr. F. Wagner, Marburg University, and Prof. Dr. F. Schnabel, Munich University. Furthermore I have to thank the archivists and historians of many denominations for their cooperation, among them Dr. G. S. Klett, Presbyterian Historical Society; Dr. Frederick Tolles, Swarthmore College; Dr. Andrew Berky, Schwenkfelder Library; Bishop A. Gapp and the Reverend J. Fliegel, Moravian Archives; Donald Durnbaugh, Juniata College, and the staff of Friends' Record Office, Philadelphia and of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

My stay in this country was made possible by the Fulbright Smith-Mundt scholarship. The extension of my study period I owe to the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania and to Dr. Robert Spiller, chairman of the American Civilization Department of the University of Pennsylvania. I am also very grateful to my wife, Indira, for accompanying me to several archives and helping me to examine a great number of manuscripts.

INTRODUCTION

THE STUDY OF a civilization depends upon an analysis of the interaction of its manifestations. Different spheres of human interest have to be observed with regard to their inter-relations, shifts of emphasis, and changes in experience and organization. Therefore an attempt is made in this study to describe and interpret the change from religious to political preoccupations as it occurred in a very diversified society in a generation's time. In studying this change, more attention will be paid to attitudes and affiliations than to actions and institutions. Motivation, bias, political awareness, belief, and the general view of the world in a particularly formative stage of the American evolution—these are the subject matters of the following pages.

The development of belief and political awareness is seen against the background of a particular place and a specific time, Colonial Pennsylvania from 1740 to 1770, the latter days of the "Holy Experiment" in a growing British empire.

This general background of an expanding empire and of the specific circumstances of Pennsylvania's foundation provide a pattern which is at once typical and unique: typical as far as the general trend of American experience is concerned, unique, however, with regard to the participants and many of the issues

at stake. It is important to consider both the typical and the unique and to see the development of history in the contemporary context. Most of the participants in developments that are later termed historical have only a very limited insight into what is happening to them. The wisdom of the historian is attained by hindsight, and the participants in a development have a very different perspective. For the factual analysis of history it may seem proper to neglect the perspective of the participants and to record only what actually happened. However, for the analysis of attitudes, the perspective of the participants in historical developments is of prime importance. History, after all, is made by people who do not know the historical significance of what they are doing, but have all kinds of plans, hopes, and expectations about it. It is very difficult for the historian to divest himself of his cherished privilege of retrospection, but in order to assess the development of motivations he must be careful not to interpret dispositions as intentions.

Dispositions of the mind and of civilizations are subject to long term and short term influences, which modify each other. In analyzing motivations and attitudes, both these influences have to be taken into account. In the case of Colonial Pennsylvania the long term influences include the religious and political developments in Protestant countries since the Reformation, while the short term influences were such factors as the date at which different groups settled in Pennsylvania, their origin, their fate under the impact of British and French policies in the 18th century, and so forth.

Protestant history has been a record of innumerable movements which swept all of North Europe in recurrent waves and finally reached the shores of the New World. Some of these movements penetrated many levels of society; others were restricted to the circles of intellectuals, strange prophets and visionaries, but all shared in one way or another the quest for a New Jerusalem, a New World, a Philadelphia, a promised land.

And when one movement slackened, making its peace with the world or withdrawing into isolation, the next movement arose, passing again the word of great things to come, the imminence of the end of all time, the need for conversion and salvation.

During the 17th century new movements sprang up from generation to generation. The most important trend was an increase in mystical speculation and devout introspection. While the preceding century of the Reformation had witnessed a pre-eminence of biblicist groups which were interested in Christian discipleship and a corresponding group discipline, communal life, and a revival of primitive Christianity, the 17th century saw a growing preoccupation with the spiritual life of the individual soul. The minority report of isolated spiritual seekers became within a century a current of thought which gained steadily in influence on wider circles of the population. The strange shoemaker Jacob Boehme became the paragon of this movement; his ideas inspired several generations of revivalists, separatists, inspirationists, and religious seekers all over Europe. His theology inspired the Philadelphians of the next generation to look forward to a spiritual union of true believers which would precede the end of time.

The distrust of the "world" was shared by both the Sectarians and the Philadelphians. When this anti-worldly tradition finally penetrated the Protestant state churches at the end of the 17th century, it gave rise to that pietism which fostered conventicles, stressed conversion, and conceived of itself as an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*. However, pious churchmen could not leave the "world" in the way sectarians and radical separatists, Philadelphians, and mystics could do. The responsibility for the world could not be shrugged off; therefore church pietism produced social work, revivalism, missionary zeal. Thus the great pietist August Hermann Francke did not pursue an ideal Philadelphia but settled down at Halle and founded an orphanage and a missionary center which dispersed tracts and preachers into all parts

of the world. Zinzendorf's revival of the Moravian church and Wesley's Methodism were a response to this challenging "Pietas Hallensis".

At first glance these "otherworldly" exploits of Anabaptists, Theosophists, Philadelphians, and Pietists seem to be, indeed, separated by a deep gulf from the worldly development of intellectual culture from the 16th to the 18th century. The progress of science and critical thought, the work of Descartes and Newton, seem to be so different from a "Mysterium Magnum" of Boehme, from anabaptism or the quest for Philadelphia. This disparity has led to the postulation of two rival currents of thought, rationalism and irrationalism, which supposedly emerged and disappeared again, alternating, and thereby giving a different character to successive periods of time or to different movements within the society. A theory like this is apparently justified by contemporary testimony: the invectives of sectarians, Philadelphians, and pietists against the "world" and, on the other hand, the worldly philosophy of the emancipated thinkers, who had freed themselves from the medieval ties of theology, seem to indicate a dichotomy of ideas and commitments. However, this appearance is deceptive; underneath their obvious preoccupations the otherworldly and the worldly philosopher share the common concern for a more critical and a more radical understanding of the meaning of life. Rationalism and mysticism are not contradictory approaches: they spring from the same source, the reliance on inner light and experience rather than on authority and tradition. The real contrast is rather the one between objective and subjective mysticism—the one relying on outward means like the sacraments, the other on introspection and an analysis of the experience of the soul.

Significantly, many Anabaptist groups were anti-sacramental and regarded baptism rather as a token of the covenant after rational confession of an accepted faith. For this very reason they insisted on adult baptism and were opposed to infant

baptism since the child was not able to confess its faith rationally. A common feature of all biblicist and inspirationist movements of the 16th and 17th centuries was the claim of direct access to revelation as opposed to the sanctions of authority and tradition. The inner light in one form or another became for all these movements more important than the outer light of all the luminaries of the church. The "inner light", however, expressed in other words may be termed "pure reason", and the great Kant, who came from a Pietist family to write his *Critique of Pure Reason*, might well have called this book, if he had used the terminology of an earlier period, "A critical enquiry into the working of the inner light." (The German term "Vernunft" implies a "receptive" faculty). And it is also not merely an accident that the school of Idealist philosophy which began with this *Critique of Pure Reason* produced as one of its last great works several decades later *The Philosophy of Revelation*.

The common background of religious speculation and scientific interest could be demonstrated by numerous individual examples. Thus the leader of the first pietist group migrating to Pennsylvania was the minister and mathematician Zimmermann; Zinzendorf, the imaginative revivalist, carried Pierre Bayle's dictionary in his pocket on most of his travels; Newton wrote theological tracts; and Jonathan Edwards informed himself avidly of Newton's scientific work.

The transition made during these centuries was a change from objective to subjective mysticism, from sacrament and authority to experience and inner light, paving the way for critical examination of human knowledge—or, as it may be termed, rationalism. A subsequent change turned the attention from subjective to objective rationalism, from introspection to observation, from experience to experiment. At the high point of this transition, "separatism" became the most significant expression of the spiritual and intellectual values of the time. Since the individual soul was the receptacle of enlightenment, communal

discipline and a communal compromise could only dilute one's own insight. The "Communal Covenant" disintegrated, and the "social contract" had not yet come into its own. In the meantime the "princeps legibus absolutus" served as a stopgap.

The tensions between organization and experience, community and individual, produced that restlessness which pervaded the Western world and led to discoveries as well as to persecutions. Reason and passion were intertwined in such events as revivals and revolutions. The harmonious balance of these forces was an ideal of the time; and it is no accident that the clock became a fascination of that period, since in this instrument the main springs of action are regulated and controlled so as to produce orderly progress.

The settlers who crossed the Atlantic carried these tensions of their time into the New World. There they could freely express their views and experiences uncensored and uncontrolled by the stifling social organization of the Old World. They did this with a vengeance and jealously guarded their freedom. In the course of their experiments, however, they evolved a social organization of their own, adapted to their way of life, fluctuating but dynamic.

I

PHILADELPHIA AND THE WORLD

IN THE 17TH century "Philadelphia" meant a program: "a community of God in the Spirit" in a new world apart from the Old World. With William Penn this Utopia, this "Nowhere", became a distinct place.

"Philadelphia" was an ideal of the radical pietists.¹ To them "Philadelphia" was a spiritual community of true believers. Most of them did not think of a political community because they believed that the end of time was imminent.² As so often in Christian history, eschatology served to strengthen their faith. History, after all, is a continuous humiliation of the soul: the most intense experience becomes outdated. Only in looking forward to the end of time can history become bearable.³ Only from this point of view does progress become meaningful. Consequently the Philadelphians thought that in progressing toward the unity of true believers they would actually speed up Christian history and bring about the end of time.

European states and European churches, however, did not

¹ See Albrecht Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Bonn: Marcus, 1884), II, 359 ff.

² See Ritschl, *op. cit.*, II, 360.

³ See the author's article on "Kirche und Geschichte," *ansätze Evangelische Studentengemeinden Deutschlands*, 6, 1956.

like to be termed "Babel" by the Philadelphians and persecuted the more radical among them. For this reason these radical pietists had an additional motivation to leave "Babel" for "Philadelphia". In Germany some of the smaller principalities, like Wittgenstein, were turned into little Philadelphias by sympathetic princes.⁴ In England the new colonies beyond the Atlantic Ocean offered a way out, and it was in keeping with the time that the proprietor of Pennsylvania named his capital city Philadelphia. And, indeed, this colony soon became a haven for religious refugees who were only too glad to leave the Babel of the Old World altogether, eager to make their progress towards the end of time in a new world.

There was nothing new about this exodus; persecution and flight had been a standard feature of Christian history. The persecuted have always the consolation of experiencing again the epic of the exodus and the progress toward a promised land which has been so prominent in the Judaeo-Christian mythology. However, there is still another theme which blends with the myth of the promised land: the perpetual contrast between religious experience and religious organization, between revelation and authority. Religious experience at its best penetrates the individual soul and connects it with eternity. Religious organization, on the other hand, is a temporal union of believers for matters of worship and common dogma and for the teaching of the Gospel to coming generations. Ideally, experience and organization should supplement each other because even the soul experiencing eternity has to go on living in a temporal world. However in numerous cases religious experience has threatened to dissolve religious organization, and in several other instances religious organization has threatened to stifle religious experience. In most of these cases movements were started which later broke away from their contemporary religious or-

⁴ See Ritschl, *op. cit.*, I, 421.

ganizations. A movement derives its energy from a sense of urgency, and it is very difficult to keep up this feeling for more than one generation. Consequently, such a movement either vanishes or perpetuates itself in the form of a sect or else gives rise to a new church.

Up to the time of the Reformation, the Catholic Church had avoided this conflict by allowing individual mystics and numerous religious orders some freedom of "movement" within its own ranks. The Protestant churches, however, themselves born out of a movement, allowed no such freedom and left only the possibility of dissent and secession. Consequently, the very period of the Reformation saw the rise of a number of movements which finally became sects or, in a few cases, even formed new churches—and every generation since the Reformation has added to this number.

The authority on which dissent and secession were founded was always the claim of direct access to revelation, either from within through the "inner light" of religious experience or from without through reliance on the text of the Bible, pure and simple. Therefore a great number of Inspirationist or Biblicist sects sprang up all over Europe. The sight of this scattering of believers led necessarily to some serious reflections: If revelation is meaningful it has to be one, and the various other claims to revelation are spurious. From this insight arose the hope for a "community of God in the Spirit".

The ecumenical idea of a community of God in the Spirit has a considerable tradition of its own. During the time of the Reformation this tradition was perhaps best represented by men like Kaspar von Schwenkfeld,⁵ Hans Denk,⁶ and Sebastian

⁵ Kaspar Schwenkfeld von Ossig, Silesian nobleman, itinerant preacher, one of the most prodigious religious writers of the time of the Reformation.

⁶ Hans Denk, disciple of Oecolampadius, principal of the school at Nuremberg, president of the first Anabaptist congress at Augsburg, 1525, tended toward mysticism, encouraged the peace testimony of the pacifist Anabaptists.

Franck.⁷ But these men were generally averse to religious organization; they influenced a number of individual followers through their writings. (Very often these followers became, later on, a denomination among other denominations—quite in contrast to the hopes of the master.)

The ecumenical dilemma, then, was to organize the community of God in the Spirit without producing anything but another denomination. The Philadelphians and other groups that believed in inspiration through the inner light of religious experience relied on the ecumenical character of the genuine "inner light". The pietists in the church, however, developed the program of an "ecclesiola in ecclesia",⁸ a movement which would act as a leaven in the church; and they met in conventicles all over Europe.

This was the religious situation at the time when William Penn invited the persecuted to leave the old Babel and come to his Philadelphia in a new world. The people who followed his invitation were English and German Quakers,⁹ some radical pietists,¹⁰ but also a large number of Anabaptists;¹¹ the

⁷ Sebastian Franck, mystic, itinerant religious writer, advocate of the inner light at the time of the Reformation.

⁸ "Ecclesiola in ecclesia": the little church within the church.

⁹ German Quakers were mostly those separatists who believed in the inner light. They were addressed by Penn on his travels in Germany. In Pennsylvania several Germans like Francis Daniel Pastorius were members of the Society of Friends.

¹⁰ Among the early radical pietist immigrants was the group organized by J. J. Zimmermann which arrived in Pennsylvania under the leadership of Baron Kelpius and settled on the Wissahickon. Among later radical pietist immigrants the most prominent are Christopher Sauer, Adam Gruber, and Dr. George de Benneville.

¹¹ The Anabaptist groups migrated from the Palatinate via Holland to Pennsylvania. The name Mennonites referred originally only to a small group of North German Anabaptists who had requested the Catholic priest Menno Simons to become their leader. This group migrated to Holland, where the name Mennonites became more generally known and was applied to most of the groups who referred to themselves as "Doopsgezinde," i.e. Baptist-minded (in German: Taufgesinnte).

church pietists came only in very small numbers. Quakers and radical pietists believed in the "inner light"; the Anabaptists, however, were for the most part Biblicists and therefore were not so akin to the other immigrants. As a religious group they had a longer history than the more recent movements of the Quakers and the radical pietists. Discipline and persecution and the logics of sectarian development had transformed them into coherent groups. They fled to Philadelphia mostly because the Palatine wars had destroyed the communities in which they had found a refuge from the persecution of preceding centuries. To them Philadelphia was not so much an ideal as an emergency door, opened to them at a time of great need. Their long sectarian tradition isolated them from other refugees of more recent movements, who had not yet settled down to a status of denominational rigidity.

Sectarian tradition is based on a paradox: In the first generation the sect is started as a voluntary union of believers, based on individual conviction and a mutually accepted discipline. This discipline, however, is also valid for the second generation. Usually, free decision, individual conviction, and voluntary agreement are made impossible for the second generation, except by means of schism and revolt. By the time the third generation has grown up, the sect is therefore either scattered or has achieved group solidarity, which is enhanced by isolation, specific rites, and so forth.¹² Thus what started as a movement is converted into a clan.

The Anabaptist movements of the 16th century had swept the continent in three generational waves,¹³ the first wave from the first Anabaptism in 1525 to the days of mass-baptisms in Münster in 1533, the second wave in the 1560's, and the third

¹² For a general sociological analysis of sectarian life, see Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Living Age Book), 1957.

¹³ This generalization is based on an examination of the published documents of Anabaptist trials for the period 1525-1600.

wave in the 1590's. Every wave produced its sects. Because of persecution these sectarian groups had settled in areas of refuge opened to them by territorial lords who were more interested in industrious and thrifty subjects than in the orthodoxy of religious beliefs. At its peak the Anabaptist movement was spread all over Europe, but the places of asylum were few. The most important among them were Moravia, the Palatinate, and the Netherlands. Here these sects had settled down and had become accepted elements of society, clinging to their customs but making their peace with the world.¹⁴

The disturbances in the Palatinate, however, caused the Anabaptists of this area to be the first who drifted down the Rhine Valley and, aided by their brethren in the Netherlands, on to America. This route was taken in the following decades by other religious groups, first of all by the Palatinate German-Reformed and by the Church of the Brethren, also called Dunkers because of their practice of adult baptism by immersion. These Brethren had grown out of an inspirationist revival conducted by the itinerant preacher Hochmann von Hohenau in the Palatinate; they had been associated with the Philadelphians and radical pietists at Wittgenstein, but finally they had chosen to recapture the Anabaptist ideal of discipleship and the communal covenant and had introduced adult baptism among themselves.¹⁵ They might well have merged with the Mennonites and other Ana-

¹⁴ Areas of great Anabaptist activity were Switzerland, Tyrolia, Southern Germany, Hesse, Saxony; prominent areas of refuge were Moravia, to which J. Hutter led Tyrolian Anabaptists who subsequently became known as Hutterites; the Palatinate, and the areas down the Rhine valley including Holland. The Hutterite Anabaptists became soon so wealthy, in spite of splits, that other peasants of Moravia became jealous of them. Similarly the Mennonites in the lower Rhine valley at Krefeld prospered and are today wealthy textile industrialists.

¹⁵ See Donald F. Durnbaugh, *European Origins of the Brethren* (Elgin: The Brethren Press, 1958), pp. 120-122. The first baptism of the Brethren took place in 1708.

baptist groups; but their baptism by immersion, rather than by mere sprinkling, became a much contested point among these two Baptist movements, the older and the more recent one.¹⁶ As a movement the Brethren were, so to speak, out of step with the main tendency of their time. In contrast to the 16th century, in which Anabaptism as a movement had far outnumbered the more mystical or universalist movements, the beginning of the 18th century saw a great variety of universalist, inspirationist, and radical pietist movements; but except for the church of the Brethren, there was no revival of Anabaptism. Introspection and the theology of universal salvation offered no congenial atmosphere for an Anabaptist movement. The movement found, therefore, its fullest development only after it had been transplanted to Pennsylvania. Split into different branches, it nevertheless became the center of a veritable revival in Germantown in the 1720's. Since time and place were especially conducive to eclectic movements, the Germantown revival produced an extremely interesting hybrid: the movement directed by Conrad Beissel,¹⁷ which finally led to the establishment of the Ephrata Cloisters.¹⁸

Beissel, having once been a revivalist, once a hermit, once the prior of a particular kind of monastery, combined in his work and thought the zeal of Labadie,¹⁹ the theosophy of Boehme,²⁰

¹⁶ Durnbaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 204 f.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

¹⁹ Jean de Labadie, born in 1610, originally a Jesuit. Itinerant preacher who attracted a great many followers who travelled with him all over the Netherlands, Northern Germany, and France. For a time associated with the Reformed Church. His theology was chiliastic.

²⁰ Jacob Boehme, shoemaker at Goerlitz, Silesia, the most influential European theosophist. His theology of the union of the soul with divine wisdom (Sophia) inspired Philadelphians and radical pietists. He lived in the 17th century.

and the Anabaptism of Mack.²¹ On the one hand Beissel cherished the idea of the mystical union of the soul with Christ and shared the aversion against marriage and procreation with many contemporary radical pietists and theosophs (this implied a spiritual individualism and solitary contemplation); on the other hand, however, Beissel was attracted by the revivalistic vigor and the ideal of discipleship implicit in Anabaptism. He therefore followed the example of Mack and baptized converts by immersion. The practical result of this theosophical Anabaptism was the foundation of a collective hermitage in which Beissel's followers, united by the bond of Anabaptism, renounced marriage and procreation.

Mennonites, Brethren, and Beissel's hermits, however, were not the only Baptists in Pennsylvania. At a very early stage of the development of Pennsylvania, Baptists from the British Isles, first of all from Wales, had settled near Philadelphia; so Pennsylvania soon equaled Rhode Island as a Baptist stronghold.²²

Besides being a Quaker and a Baptist center, Pennsylvania also became the center of Presbyterianism in the New World.²³ A Presbyterian Synod was established in Philadelphia as early as 1716. These different denominations, however, had very little in common. Because of their democratic and independent forms of organization, they were able to mind their own business; sectarian exclusiveness and ethnic diversity made closer contacts even less likely. The only important exception was perhaps the

²¹ Alexander Mack, Sr., leader of the Dunkers or Church of the Brethren, introduced baptism by immersion in 1708 among a group of radical pietists in order to revive the ideal of discipleship. Migrated with his followers to Pennsylvania.

²² See Morgan Edwards, *Materials toward a History of the Baptist Church in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: J. Cruikshank, 1770).

²³ See Leonard J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition; A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1949), p. 25 ff.

co-operation of English and German Quakers. Dr. Pastorius,²⁴ the German Quaker, and the famous antislavery appeal of the Germantown Friends Meeting are the most noted examples of this co-operation of English and German Quakers.

The element of unrest as well as co-operation came in with the increasing number of unchurched church people and separatists. These people were not taken care of and controlled by sects and their indigenous religious authorities. They were left to themselves and could drift towards the one or the other religious movement that might appear. The conversion of the unchurched Conrad Weiser and the wife of the separatist Christopher Sauer to Beissel's kind of Anabaptism are typical examples of this state of affairs.²⁵ The immigration of a group of Silesian Schwenkfelders²⁶ in 1734 and the later migration of the Moravian Church were the last instances of organized religious groups coming to Pennsylvania. All other immigrants were to an ever-increasing degree such unchurched church people and from time to time disestablished intellectuals or religious separatists.

The religious separatist was the true representative of the early 18th century. Since the inner light dwelt in the individual soul, communal compromise and communal discipline could only dilute one's own insight. One's own experience and conviction were the best guide for getting out of the confused Babel of this world. Consequently, the separatist not only separated from the "world" and from the church but also from sects and other groups. However, this did not imply an indifference toward

²⁴ See Marion Dexter Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius* (Philadelphia: Campbell, 1908).

²⁵ See Paul A. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948). See Edward W. Hocker, *The Sower Printing House of Colonial Times*, *Proceed. of the Penna. German Society*, LIII (1948), 8.

²⁶ See Selina G. Schultz, "The Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania," in *Pennsylvania History*, XXIV, (1957), 293 ff.

others; on the contrary, the separatists who came to Pennsylvania were among the most active promoters of co-operation, public spirit, and religious experience.²⁷ They considered sectarianism as much of a Babylonian confusion as the church that they had left behind. Therefore they were interested in a renewal of the old Philadelphian ideal of a community of God in the Spirit. Suspicion against any kind of establishment and a generally tolerant attitude toward all religious groups was the prevailing attitude of these radical pietist separatists.²⁸ The radical pietism which they represented was a late offspring of the great Philadelphian and theosophist movement of the 17th century. In Germany this movement found its last monumental expression in the Berlenburg Bible printed in eight volumes from 1726-42, a new translation of the Holy Scriptures with added Apocrypha.²⁹ The text was accompanied by a running commentary which interpreted the Bible in terms of radical pietist theology. This work was dedicated to the Philadelphia Community.³⁰ As so often in history, a movement at its very end sought a monumental expression. The Berlenburg Bible was at once the greatest monument and the swan song of radical

²⁷ Sauer became a printer, bookseller, and political leader; Gruber tried to achieve a union of different religious groups; Dr. de Benneville, on his travels as a medical doctor, preached to numerous groups and was a universally recognized spiritual leader.

²⁸ See Sauer's long poem in *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, Nov. 16, 1744, in which he decries priestcraft and the arrogance and lassitude of the clergy, but also the stiffness of the sects, while he praises the spiritual heritage of the radical pietists.

²⁹ This Bible was edited by a large staff under the direction of J. J. Haug; however, several of the editors changed in the course of time. Dr. de Benneville was one of the editors and came to Pennsylvania after the work on the Berlenburg Bible had been completed. See Albert D. Bell, *The Life and Times of Dr. Georg de Benneville* (Boston: Universalist Church Dept. of Publ., 1953).

³⁰ The engraving facing the title page of the Berlenburg Bible bears the dedication "Der Philadelphischen Gemeinde." It shows a kind of garden encircled by walls with the Lamb, holding the Banner, in the center.

pietism in Europe. In America, however, a radical pietist like Christopher Sauer gained influence and respect at the very time when the movement to which he owed his world view was on its way out at home. This was mainly due to the fact that Pennsylvania was settled by radical Protestants of all kinds rather than by church people, and that there was no intellectual leadership with conservative or neo-orthodox tendencies as there was in Europe. In Pennsylvania there was neither a Baumgarten³¹ nor a Tillotson;³² but there was a Sauer, a Logan, and a Franklin. The lack of substantial conservative opposition was one of the most important features of Pennsylvania's religious life. The only comparatively well-established orthodoxy were the conservative Presbyterian clergymen like Dr. Francis Alison.³³ The Anglican clergy played only an insignificant role, the Swedish Lutheran pastors were tied to their small ethnic group, and German Lutheran and Reformed ministers were very scarce in spite of the growing population of unchurched Germans. The few ministers who happened to be in Pennsylvania were mostly self-appointed clergymen who were under no jurisdiction of any church authority.³⁴

At the same time, the free and tolerant administration of

³¹ Sigmund Jacob Baumgarten, 1706-1757, professor of theology at Halle University, introduced a kind of neo-orthodoxy. He revised many of the opinions of the earlier generation of pietists (as for instance in his "De conversione non instantanea," 1743). See Ritschl, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 560 p. ff.

³² Archbishop Tillotson, liberal theologian of the early 18th century, whose writings were cherished by the Quakers but detested by Calvinist revivalists like Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield.

³³ Francis Alison, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, the learned leader of the conservative Old Side Presbyterians.

³⁴ See *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of Pennsylvania 1734-1792* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1903), p. 1 ff., p. 10-11.

W. J. Mann, ed., *Nachrichten von den Evangelisch Lutherschen Gemeinden in Nordamerika* (Hallesche Nachrichten) (Philadelphia: Eisenhart, 1895), vol. I, *passim*.

Penn's holy experiment, the opportunities for work and material gain, and the lack of any central religious concern dissipated much of the religious fervor which had driven many a group across the Atlantic Ocean. The lack of persecution affected many a religious group, to the despair of religious leaders who complained about materialism and indifference.³⁵ Religious groups also could not enforce communal discipline to the degree to which they had been able to do in Europe. In the general mixture of sects and movements an excommunicated member of a group could easily find a new group akin to his predilection, or he could even choose to become a separatist.³⁶ No wonder that to most critical observers Philadelphia and its surroundings appeared to be a worse Babel than anything they had ever seen before. This state of affairs, however, was not universally cherished even by those who profited from it and who seemed to be most indifferent to the complaints of preachers and religious leaders. Later confessions in the years of the Great Awakening reveal that this process of relaxation and of a slackening of religious fervor was accompanied by hidden remorse and a secret longing for a new spiritual challenge.³⁷ This challenge,

³⁵ The first religious leader of the Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, Georg Weiss, remarked in a letter:

. . . and thus [God] has brought them [the Schwenkfelders] . . . in a surprizing way to Pennsylvania in America, and only there . . . into true liberty . . .

However, as evidence shows, this high grace is not only not esteemed by those on whom it has been bestowed but it has been taken lightly, even despised, and, to tell the truth, many of them have trodden it under their feet.

Schwenkfelder Library, letterbook Georg Weiss.

³⁶ See the letter of Christopher Schultze, Appendix No. 35.

³⁷ The itinerant preacher J. Lischy relates the answer given by a layman, M. Deis, to a minister:

M. Deis told me that Caspar Stoever had visited him and had tried to draw him away. He had asked him whether he had not been Reformed before he had met Lischy. Thereupon he had said NO. Thereupon (Stoever asked) what had he been, there has to be something

however, could not be provided by sectarian groups or by resentful admonitions of religious leaders who thought of the glorious past of steadfastness under persecution. Beissel's revival of the 1720's had been a real challenge and a fresh movement, but it had only reached a small number of his contemporary German immigrants. A wider movement was needed to reach the English and German immigrants alike and to penetrate larger groups of a vastly increased population.

The lack of a central religious concern in Penn's Holy Experiment seems to be a surprising deficiency. However, the holiness of this experiment rested on the principle of formal and guaranteed religious tolerance rather than on any positive and definite plan. Furthermore, Penn himself was much too pre-occupied with numerous activities and had therefore no time to put himself to the task of experimenting in Pennsylvania. The time which he spent in his colony would scarcely have permitted him to introduce any programs, religious or other, by means of personal example, supervision, and encouragement, even if he had wanted to do so.³⁸ But William Penn was not a Roger Williams; he was not a sectarian leader; and his founding of Pennsylvania was only a byproduct of his general striving for tolerance, which was more important to him than the advancement of any particular sect, plan, or doctrine. Therefore he preferred to court the favor of the ill-fated James II in order to induce this king to proclaim a general toleration of all religious

one has to stick to and to confess. He had replied to him that if he should really tell him from his heart what he was and what he thinks about himself then he had to confess he was a deserted soldier who deserved death and the gallows now his uniform had become torn and filthy that he did not know what to do to mend it—if his Lord would not accept him, pardon him, and give him new clothing, then he would have to be with the Devil for all eternity.

Lischy Diary, Moravian Archives, Box L, Lischiana.

³⁸ See C. E. Vulliamy, *William Penn* (London: Geoffrey Bless, 1933), p. 198 ff.

groups in the British Empire rather than to live in his own colony perfecting his own holy experiment.³⁹ If Penn had succeeded in his ambitious plan, he would be praised today for this achievement rather than for his founding of Pennsylvania. Since fate turned against him, however, his fame must rest on the founding of Pennsylvania, which was to him but an enclave of tolerance in an empire which he wanted to win as a whole for his idea of universal toleration. Penn was a radical pietist and a Philadelphian as much as he was a Quaker. His community of true believers included more than the Quakers whom he had joined. His Philadelphian pietism did not lead him to separatism and individual withdrawal from the world but prompted him to conceive of the whole world as a potential Philadelphia. Since Penn failed to reach the ideal goal, the Quakers in Philadelphia inherited the small enclave of tolerance which he had established; and they tried to administer it by maintaining their predominant role in this province, considering themselves the guardians of Penn's achievement.

The appreciation of tolerance as a positive end in itself rests on the assumption that the soul of each individual man has access to the inner light and therefore is responsible for working out his own salvation. He should not be imposed upon. However, this view is somewhat difficult to reconcile with the fact that many souls crave for spiritual leadership and that most religious movements are accompanied by conversion, proselytizing, militant protest against the status quo, and a vigorous rejection of competing religious movements and "false" doctrines.

Furthermore, tolerance might be seen as a vacuum rather than a substantial foundation of religious freedom. The step from tolerance to indifference is small. As time went by, it was liberty rather than tolerance which attracted the attention of

³⁹ Vulliamy, *op. cit.*, p. 207 ff.

Pennsylvanians, while on the other hand revivalism rather than a quietist working out of one's own salvation was appreciated in the field of religious experience. The world did not become Philadelphia but Philadelphia became worldly.

II

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE GREAT AWAKENING

IN DISCUSSING THE Great Awakening, three distinctions should be made: firstly, a distinction between the Great Awakening as a historical period and the Whitefield Revival of 1740-41 as a historical event; secondly, a distinction between the Calvinist and the pietist aspects of the Awakening; and thirdly, a distinction between revivalism as a form of religious experience and as a revolt in matters of denominational organization.

The Revival of 1740 was the center of a spiritual whirlpool towards which different streams were drawn and from which different streams emerged. The two main streams were the ecumenical aspirations of the pietist movements and the denominational needs of the Calvinists. These rather incompatible streams accelerated each other as they rushed towards the center and repelled each other as they emerged again.

The pietist hope for "free grace" and the Calvinist insistence on predestination and election had to clash: the contrast of inversion and conversion produced aversion. In the end, ecclesiastical organization triumphed over ecumenical hopes. The choices that remained were only between denominationalism and indifference.

The pietist aspirations have been discussed in the first chapter.

They can be summed up in the words: unity of revelation. The scattering of believers in sects was obvious enough in Pennsylvania, and many substantial laymen were interested in a union of believers and a revival of religious experience. Religious leaders of a fresh and universal appeal had appeared among the recently immigrated Germans. As early as 1722 Conrad Beissel had started a wave of Anabaptism; a regular revival was going on in Germantown. Prominent laymen like Conrad Weister were drawn into the movement. In the late 1730's Henry Antes, the "king of the Germans", and the noted radical pietist Adam Gruber were contemplating a unity movement.¹ A kind of ecumenical service was held at the Brethren on Shippack.² A rather independent Schwenkfelder, Christopher Wiegner,³ who had come to Pennsylvania in 1734 with several members of the conventicle that used to meet in his house in Görlitz, Silesia, had settled at Shippack; and his house was the meeting place for many religious seekers from all kinds of groups. A slackening of religious ardor among many of the rank and file members of

¹ See Edwin McMinn, *The Life and Time of Henry Antes* (Moorestown, 1886).

See also Charles P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Patterson, 1917), II, 817.

² *Ibid.*, p. 817; see also *Minutes of the Ref. Church*, *op. cit.*

³ The church-book of Manacosey, Moravian Archives, contains the following account of an associate of Wiegner:

... a society of 13 persons used to gather at Goerlitz, and met every Saturday. The dear Saviour stood with us and we were one heart and one soul. In the year 1734 the Schwenkfelders got orders from the king to get out of the country and the man in whose house we met was a Schwenkfelder, his name was Wiegner, he went away and thus we lost our place of meeting. It came into my [Christoph Baus'] mind to go with Wiegner to Pennsylvania; we turned to the Brethren at Herrenhut who helped us; we travelled via Ebersdorf and Holland, embarked at Rotterdam and arrived in 1734 at Philadelphia. In Shippack where several people from Europe met and where Brother Spangenberg was with us, we had common housekeeping and a truly blessed life(original in German).

recently immigrated groups caused by the freedom from persecution, and the preoccupation with making a living in America worried many of the religious leaders. These leaders therefore hoped for a revival of religion which would stress the unity of revelation and which would renew religious experience.

The Calvinist needs were also a problem of long standing: the renewal of the Covenant. The Covenant of God with the elect was the basis of Calvinist belief. Since election was a matter of predestination, the soul had to realize its being elect; this act of realization was termed conversion. Predestination of the individual soul also implied that God renewed the Covenant with every generation and that, therefore, every new generation had to realize this fact by experiencing conversion. Conversion is definitely a religious experience. With Calvinist denominations, however, it became an obligatory item of religious organization because the organization was based on the Covenant and the Covenant had to be realized by individual experience of conversion.

As a compromise solution, the Half-way Covenant⁴ had been introduced for the children of the elect who had not yet experienced conversion. As it has been observed in the case of the Anabaptist paradox, it is the denomination which was originally based on free, adult decision that often develops the most intricate discipline.

New methods were needed to achieve large-scale conversion which would make third generation offspring of the elect Puritans participants in and preservers of the full Covenant. Pietism and idealism offered themselves as such new methods. Jonathan Edwards drew upon both these currents of thought in order to

⁴ The Half-way Covenant provided for church membership of baptized persons who had made no formal professions. Since only church members could vote, this measure greatly widened the franchise. It was first endorsed by a synod in Boston in 1657. See Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Puritan Oligarchy* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1947), p. 312.

revive Calvinism. He was very early inspired by Arndt's *True Christianity*, and he used the idealism of Berkeley as a basis for his theology of religious experience.⁵ Thus he solved the ecclesiastical dilemma of his time and based the church of the Covenant once more on the immediate experience of the individual souls. His narrative of the revival which he started in New England in 1734 became of great importance in England as well as in America.⁶ It may be implied that conversion was no longer a matter of unexpected experience only, but an aim that could be worked for in a definite way. Thus revivalism as a systematic pursuit had its justification.

A contemporary pietist effort to unite organization and experience was Count Zinzendorf's reconstruction of the old Moravian Church. The problem which Zinzendorf tried to solve was more complicated than the one which Edwards had to attack. Edwards could solve his problem by introducing new methods of the renewal of the Covenant, that is, linking the individual with the Covenant by realization of its pre-destined election; the Covenant, once realized, was a solid foundation of the church.

⁵ See Edwards' "Catalogue of Books," which encompasses all the books which Edwards wanted to read, bought, or had read (the dating and interpretation of signs used by Edwards to indicate references and completed reading can be found in Caskey's transcript of the "Catalogue," Chicago, 1931, Mss. Diss. Hammond Library).

According to this "Catalogue" Edwards knew and read before 1736 Berkeley's "Principles of Human Knowledge," "New Theory of Vision," and "Alciphron." These references are on p. 3 and p. 4 of the catalogue; p. 5 contains direct references to the year 1736.

This seems evidence enough to reject Perry Miller's proposition that Edwards never read Berkeley (see P. Miller, *Jonathan Edwards, Images and Shadows of Divine Things*, New Haven, 1948, p. 140, note 21).

References to Arndt's "True Christianity," the English translation of which had been received by Cotton Mather as early as 1716, are to be found on a flyleaf of Edwards' "Catalogue" which, according to Caskey, must have been written in the 1720's. Arndt's name appears twice: the signs indicate that Edwards must have read his work before 1730.

⁶ Edwards, *Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God* . . . (Boston, 1738).

Zinzendorf, as a Lutheran, did not believe in predestination; therefore he could not rely on the Covenant as the foundation of a church of the elect. However, the communion of believers was as important to him as individual religious experience. He re-emphasized the Community of God in the Spirit and based it on the redeeming power of the Atonement. This Community was to be a church, but it should be ecumenical and not denominational; it should promote religious experience; in short, it should be a movement of individuals of missionary zeal but also a church, guarding traditions and preserving the means of grace.⁷

Of course, it was impossible for Zinzendorf to remodel the whole Lutheran Church in conformity with this ideal. Therefore he seized upon the opportunity of remodeling the ancient Moravian Church,⁸ some of whose refugees had been granted asylum on his estates.

This small band of refugees became the first members of a world-wide mission church organized along rather peculiar lines. In order to have church discipline but also inter-denominational co-operation, Zinzendorf introduced the plan of "tropes"⁹ or forms of worship. Under this plan, members of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches could freely associate with the Moravian Church under the supervision of Moravian missionaries who were drawn from the same denominations. These groups of different denominations associated with the Moravian Church were a kind of autonomous department within the church, regulating their own forms of worship and so forth. This federated church structure was indeed a rather original con-

⁷ See Albrecht Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Bonn: Marcus, 1884), III, 193 ff.

⁸ The Moravian Church was founded in 1457 at Kunwald, Moravia, by some followers of the reformer Johann Huss. It lived in exile for the greater part of its existence.

⁹ "Tropi Paedia"; see J. M. Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publ. Co., 1903), p. 23.

tribution to ecumenical co-operation; but it was usually misinterpreted, and Zinzendorf was constantly accused of deliberate ambiguities, and subtle proselytizing.

The missionary activities brought this reorganized church quickly into contact with the expanding British Empire. There was at that time a great interest in the newly-founded colony of Georgia.¹⁰ The Salzburg Lutheran refugees were sent there, and Zinzendorf sent a group of Schwenkfelder refugees, to whom he had granted asylum, to this new colony; they finally ended up in Pennsylvania, however.¹¹ Through their contacts with Britain, the Moravians discovered their affinity with the Methodists, and a short-lived alliance led to the establishment of the important Fetter Lane Meetinghouse in London.¹²

The Methodists in this early time of the Awakening had interdenominational aims similar to those of Zinzendorf and his Moravians, although they did not develop a plan of tropes. They were also charged with deliberate ambiguity because they had Calvinist as well as Arminian revivalists in their ranks.¹³ The Oxford group of Methodists around the Wesley Brothers was motivated by a similar concern for a unification of church and movement as Count Zinzendorf. However, they did not start a new church organization and decided to work within the framework of the Anglican Church. In time, this ideal unity of church

¹⁰ See Levering, *op. cit.*, p: 34 f.

¹¹ See Selina Schultz, "The Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania," in *Pennsylvania History*, xxiv p. 293 ff.

¹² See W. H. Lecky, *History of England in the 18th Century* (New York: Appleton, 1892), III, 67.

¹³ "... when these Methodists get out from Oxon, one of them, to wit Mr. Whitefield giveth out for the Calvinist doctrine, but now and then has given secret stabs to it in his writings. John Wesley getteth out for the Arminian Doctrine, Kindin [?] another of these Methodists after some time setteth out for this error, that Christ hath no visible church upon earth . . ." From "Remarks upon Mr. George Whitefield proving him a man under Delusion" by George Gillespie; Philadelphia, printed by B. Franklin, 1744.

and movement proved to be untenable; and a generation later Methodism emerged as a new church. The parting of the ways of Calvinist Methodists, Arminian Methodists and Moravians took even less time; it was imminent almost from the beginning of this unique coalition.¹⁴

There was yet another stream which gravitated toward the whirlpool of the 1740 Revival: the Presbyterianism of the Middle Colonies in America. Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania and New York had made steady advances to a solid church organization. The Synod of Philadelphia, founded in 1718, was the first indigenous church authority in America which included representatives from several colonies. However, Presbyterianism could not make use of many opportunities arising from this advantage because of the clannish and conservative attitude of many of the Presbyterian ministers.¹⁵ In these early days American Presbyterianism was too much tied to the predominant Scotch-Irish element among its members, ministers, and Presbyteries. Although the Presbyteries had the advantage of being able to ordain indigenous ministers, they made little use of this opportunity and looked for candidates with a European education, supplied by the Church "at home".¹⁶ In other words, Presbyterian Dissent had become an Establishment of its own.

William Tennent was the first to challenge this state of affairs. He had been a member of the Established Church in Ireland but had left this church because he objected to the "usurped power of bishops" and the "connivance of the church at Arminian doctrines".¹⁷ With vigor he started to reform American

¹⁴ See Lecky, *op. cit.*, III, 69-70.

¹⁵ See *Records of the Presbyterian Church of the United States*, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1904, p. 141. See also Leonard J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1949), p. 68.

¹⁶ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Presbyterianism by educating young men for the ministry in a "Log College" at his parsonage in Neshaminy, Pa. His son Gilbert Tennent became the spokesman of these Log College men, who were discriminated against by the European-educated representatives of the Scotch-Irish Establishment.

Gilbert Tennent was a thorough theologian as well as a hot-headed revolutionary; he used these capacities alternately. As a Calvinist theologian he shared Edwards' concern about the renewal of the Covenant and his father's apprehensions about the spread of Arminian doctrine. As a revolutionary he grew impatient with the Scotch-Irish Establishment and craved for a movement within the church which would break the hold of the conservatives on ordination and church discipline. The majority of the Presbyterian ministers knew about Tennent's ambitions and tried all the more carefully to keep the Log College men under tight control.¹⁸

At this juncture George Whitefield came to America.¹⁹ He was a member of the Oxford group of Methodists, with extraordinary talents as a preacher and evangelist and little concern for the fine points of theology. He was very impressed with the social work of the Halle Pietists, and therefore he set out to establish an orphanage in the new colony of Georgia.²⁰ The recruiting of orphans in this newly-settled colony posed some problems; nevertheless Whitefield, in his single-minded fervor, established the orphanage and traveled all over the American

¹⁸ See Trinterud, *op. cit.*, p. 71 ff.

¹⁹ Whitefield arrived at Philadelphia on November 2, 1739; see Trinterud, *op. cit.*, p. 86 ff.

²⁰ Whitefield was influenced by A. H. Francke's "Pietas Hallensis," which had been translated into English by the Halle Alumnus A. Boehm, who was court preacher to King George I. The great charitable institutions, like the orphanage, however were hardly needed in a place like Georgia, where Whitefield had to recruit orphans by questionable means in order to get his orphanage started. See also Albert Belden, *Whitefield, the Awakener* (New York: Macmillan, 1953).

colonies to collect money for this worthy enterprise. His tour gave rise to the great revival of religion, which marked the pivotal point of the Great Awakening.

In 1740 Whitefield arrived in Philadelphia. He caused a spectacular revival and was at once joined by the Log College men, who had only waited for a signal to break the shackles imposed upon them by Presbyterian conservatism.²¹ Whitefield came to Philadelphia as an Anglican, a Methodist, interested in a revival of religion and not very much concerned about theology; he left Philadelphia as a sound Calvinist and faithful adherent to Gilbert Tennent's theology.

Whitefield's revival sermons had caused some concern among the orthodox Anglicans and conservative Presbyterians as well as among the quietist sectarians, but Gilbert Tennent's sermon on the Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry marked the point of no return.²² This "character assassination" of all the conservative Presbyterian ministers had to lead to a split of the Presbyterian church. At the same time it impressed the laymen who were called upon to leave the unconverted and listen to the converted ministers. Since there was no authority who could decide impartially whether a minister was converted or not, this meant that the verdict had to be pronounced by the laymen themselves.

In the following year Tennent and the revivalist Log College men were excluded from the Synod of Philadelphia.²³ They all joined the Presbytery of New Brunswick, which had been estab-

²¹ Trinterud, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

²² The sermon, which was delivered at Nottingham, Pa., March 8, 1740, was characterized by one of Tennent's adversaries as follows: "[the people] are as free from their minister after a call, choice and contracting the relation of pastor and flock, as before," (*The Querist*, Part III, Philadelphia, printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1740, p. 101).

²³ *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 159. ("They were found to be the minor party and upon this they withdrew.").

lished a few years before.²⁴ This presbytery was known for its heterodox line since it had licensed the Log College graduate John Rowland.

No longer restricted by the Synod's injunction against preaching outside one's own parsonage, the revivalists toured the country freely and disturbed the peace of the Scotch-Irish Establishment wherever they went. They had most of the laymen on their side, and therefore the future belonged to them.

In the meantime Whitefield had returned to England in 1740. His association with Tennent had strengthened his anti-Arminian views to a great extent. The Great Awakening had gone past the pivotal point; the centrifugal forces had set in. In July, 1740, a threefold split scattered the revivalist front: Calvinist and Arminian Methodist parted company; Methodists and Moravians drew apart.²⁵ The Calvinist Methodists continued their work under the protection of Lady Huntingdon; Wesley left Fetter Lane Meetinghouse, which he had founded with the Moravians, and established a new meetinghouse. A few months later the Moravians made Christ the Elder of their church and thereby initiated a time of ill-advised enthusiasm which later became known as the "sifting period" of their church.²⁶

²⁴ A Presbytery had been established at New Brunswick in 1738. This Presbytery had licensed John Rowland (1738), James McCray (1739), William Robinson (1740), Samuel Finley (1740), Samuel Sackett (1741), and William Dean (1741) as ministers. On June 2, 1741, the day after their secession from the Synod of Philadelphia, this Presbytery admitted Tennent and all his colleagues of the minority party. A further presbytery was established at Londonderry under the direction of Samuel Blair, and it was planned to have New Brunswick and Londonderry meet as a New Light Synod. (See "Records of New Brunswick Presbytery," Presbyterian Historical Society.) These attempts at forming a new synod were postponed when a new prospect appeared: the secession of the New York Presbytery from the Synod of Philadelphia which, in 1745, led to the establishment of the "New Light" Synod of New York.

²⁵ See Lecky, *op. cit.*, III, 68, 69.

²⁶ Levering, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

In terms of the inner necessities of the revivalist movement this split and its causes are highly significant. Anti-Arminianism, Arminianism, and Moravian enthusiasm are not merely accidental issues; the central issue at stake is the freedom of the will and the meaning of the atonement, in reference to the conversion of the individual soul.

In the early stages of the revival Whitefield used without deeper reflection the dynamic tension between predestination and the free decision to work for one's conversion. The first assured the possibility and necessity of conversion; the second served as the basis for exhortation and appeal to the powers of the will and the urgency of decision. It is quite understandable that Whitefield's listeners fell into fits while trying to realize their predestined election by an effort of their free will.

As time went on and matters of doctrine were discussed among the revivalists, the incompatibility of predestination and an insistence on the freedom of the will became more and more obvious. Thus, finally, party lines were drawn when Wesley refused to preach on election and Whitefield thought predestination to be more important than the freedom of the will.²⁷

Both doctrines, however, are equally difficult to match with the doctrine of the Atonement. Predestination makes the Atonement a superfluous gesture; a reliance on the freedom of the will makes it difficult to explain the way in which the individual soul partakes of the Atonement.

The participation in the Atonement is a problem to which no rational answer can be given. The Moravians had made the redeeming power of the Atonement the central point of their message. However after 1740 an emphasis on the wounds of Christ as outward symbols of man's participation in the Atonement became more and more of a preoccupation with the Moravians. A special language developed among them which alienated

²⁷ Lecky, *op. cit.*, III, 69.

other religious groups.²⁸ As an antidote to the prevailing insistence on the fulfillment of the law as a religious duty, the Moravians indulged in deliberate disparaging of law-abiding piety. These extravagances lasted for several years which were later termed the "sifting period".

This period of the Moravian Church has to be considered also in terms of the old tension between experience and organization. It has often been asked why Zinzendorf himself connived at these extravagances which alienated Wesley and appalled others. The answer may be that Zinzendorf was caught on the horns of a dilemma. He wanted to continue the Moravian church as an interdenominational movement and therefore resisted the tendencies within the church to restore the old organization of the Moravian church.²⁹ Therefore he had to encourage attempts to perpetuate the enthusiasm and the religious experience of the movement as well as its sense of identity—even if this meant fostering extravagance.

In the next few years the Moravian Church and Zinzendorf himself wavered between self-effacing service to all believers and the most extraordinary claims for the Moravian Church as being under some special dispensation.³⁰ In the end, however, the trend towards organization and limitation prevailed. Before that time, however, the Moravian Church had a short-lived but spectacular success in America and other parts of the world, wherever its widespread missions extended.

The split of 1740 between Moravians, Methodists and Calvinist Methodists had occurred in London. It took some time before the impact of this split was felt in America, and then it produced effects quite different from those it had provoked in

²⁸ The main feature of this special language was the "Litany of Wounds." The insistence on free grace, made available to men through the sufferings of Christ, gave rise to a "Blood" theology.

²⁹ See Ritschl, *op. cit.*, III, 346.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

London. The first effect was the end of the co-operation of Whitefield and the Moravians in Georgia and Pennsylvania.³¹ After Whitefield returned to America, he precipitated a heated debate with the Moravian theologian Peter Böhler on the issue of predestination. The debate ended with Whitefield's evicting the Moravians from a tract of land belonging to him at that time, on which the Moravians had settled down while constructing a building for one of Whitefield's social enterprises.³² The break was noted with regret among the German settlers of Pennsylvania who were still interested in an ecumenical revival. Soon afterwards the Moravians started to work on the tract of land which was to become Bethlehem, Pa.

In the early months of the revival the Moravians found a good number of sympathizers in Philadelphia, among them Charles Brockden,³³ James Read,³⁴ John Stephen Benezet,³⁵ Edward Evans,³⁶ and the influential merchant Thomas

³¹ Whitefield had made use of the Moravians by recruiting from their midst the staff of his orphanage in Georgia. He had also commissioned them to build a large building on a tract in the forks of the Delaware which he had acquired. This building was to serve as a college for Negro boys. In Georgia Whitefield had debated predestination with the Moravian Hagen; in Pennsylvania he had reiterated the debate with Boehler. See Levering, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

³² Levering, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

³³ Charles Brockden, Recorder of Deeds in Philadelphia, a staunch supporter of the Moravians; see his letters regarding the New Building, Appendix No. 4 and 5.

³⁴ James Read, bookseller, later attorney at Reading; see J. Bennet Nolan, *Printer Strahan's Book Account* (Reading, Pa.: The Bar of Berks County), 1939.

³⁵ John Stephen Benezet, of Huguenot origin, sometime a Quaker, censured by the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia in 1742 for joining the Moravians (see Minutes of the Monthly Meeting, Friends Records Office, Archstreet, Phila.).

³⁶ Edward Evans, shoemaker, of Race Street, Philadelphia; Quaker disowned in 1742; member of the Moravian Church; "disowned" by the Moravians in 1748; later one of the first promoters of Methodism in Pennsylvania.

Noble,³⁷ who resided in New York and was a friend of Jonathan Edwards. All these friends had been active in establishing the New Building, an interdenominational meetinghouse, serving purposes similar to those of Fetter Lane Meetinghouse in London.³⁸ The primary purpose of this building was that it should be used for Whitefield's revival sermons; however, every other revival preacher was supposed to be freely admitted to preach there. Under Presbyterian influence, however, several paragraphs were inserted into the Articles of the Trustees of this building which stressed Calvinism. These articles became a bone of contention as soon as the first rapture of the revival had passed. The break between Whitefield and the Moravians heightened the tension. Tennent insisted that the building had been constructed in the interest of "experimental Calvinism"; the Moravian sympathizers on the board of trustees had not paid proper attention to the Calvinist articles and insisted that the Moravians should be particularly mentioned in the articles so that they might not be excluded from using the building. The quarrel continued for several years.³⁹

In the meantime Count Zinzendorf had arrived in Philadelphia in November, 1741. Zinzendorf adopted a policy of avoiding religious disputes by remaining silent on doctrinal issues.⁴⁰

³⁷ Thomas Noble, merchant, of New York, employed the Moravian minister Grube as tutor of his children. He was a friend of Whitefield, Finley, and Jonathan Edwards (he is mentioned in Edwards' "Catalogue of Books" as recommending books to Edwards).

³⁸ For establishment of the New Building see copy of original deeds, etc. in Appendix No. 1.

³⁹ See Appendix No. 1-5.

⁴⁰ The following policy statement was issued by Zinzendorf (addressed to Peter Boehler):

"If two persons preach at the same time and create jealousies of each other in the People's minds, they do nothing else but make sects and partys . . . we have to do with wavering people, who have not the work of the Lord at heart, I don't at all like disputes about Churches . . ."

Original in English, Moravian Archives, Box Pennsylvania.

The attention of the Moravian missionaries was turned towards the country, where numerous unchurched Lutherans and Reformed German immigrants had settled in recent years. These settlers had from time to time applied for ministers, but very few of the church authorities in Germany could reply to such requests because Pennsylvania was not under their jurisdiction; and any minister who would be willing to take the risk at all to come to Pennsylvania demanded extensive guarantees of salary and travel expenses which could only be given by a well-established congregation.⁴¹ If he came on his own, he was likely to be an adventurer who had lost his standing at home. Consequently the German church people of Pennsylvania offered a wide open field to eager missionaries, and Zinzendorf chose to concentrate on this task and to avoid as much as possible encounters with the English denominations.

Zinzendorf's plans with the German settlers, however, were rather ambitious. He resumed his earlier concern about ecumenical unity which had caused him to bring separatists and sectarians and church people into a unified organization. Seven ecumenical synods were held in Pennsylvania to advance this plan.⁴² Henry Antes, who had conceived a similar plan in cooperation with Adam Gruber prior to Zinzendorf's arrival, served as the chief organizer of these conferences. But Zinzendorf's plans of church unity did not appeal to the separatists and sectarians who had viewed his moves with suspicion ever since his arrival. An additional handicap to Zinzendorf was that in these conferences he had to deal with denominational leaders, who

⁴¹ Henry Antes characterized this situation as follows:

"... if you appoint a minister from Germany you first have to decide about his salary and then you have to be prepared for somebody being sent over, to whom in Europe not even the geese would be entrusted."

Moravian Archives, Box L, Lischiana, Reformed Conference.

⁴² See *Relation von den Sieben Pennsylvanischen Synoden*, Philadelphia, printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1742.

were naturally more conscious of sectarian distinctions and more suspicious about new forms of organization than the rank and file members would be. As a result, these conferences failed, and the Moravians limited their attention to the church people, leaving sectarians and separatists alone in order to avoid charges of proselytizing.

The following five years were a time of great missionary activities of the Moravians among the Pennsylvania German church people. Moravian ministers of the Lutheran and Reformed "tropes" served many congregations and preached often more than once a day at different places.⁴³ With the arrival of the first Sea-Congregation of Moravian brethren, about thirty-five missionaries were available who could preach, hold singing hours, celebrate love feasts, and teach school in wide areas of Pennsylvania.⁴⁴ Itinerant Moravians, predecessors of the Methodist circuit riders, visited New York, New Jersey, Maryland. The majority of the ministers were German or Swiss, but with the arrival of Swedish and English Moravians revival tours could be extended to other settlers as well. Several of the missionaries learned Indian languages and started a very successful mission among the Indians.⁴⁵

With the arrival of the Moravians in the Middle Colonies, the Presbyterian Church was no longer the only church which had the advantage of being able to ordain ministers locally. The Moravian bishops ordained ministers in America without regard to educational requirements; they were also the first to ordain women.⁴⁶ Ordination of ministers in America was one of the most important steps toward an emancipation of America

⁴³ See Rauch's preaching schedule, Appendix No. 10.

⁴⁴ See Levering, *op. cit.*, p. 119 f.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁴⁶ The first bishop, David Nitschmann, arrived in Pennsylvania on December 18, 1740.

from Europe. In this respect New Light Presbyterians and Moravians advanced in the same direction. But at that time and under the given circumstances this meant competition.

The New Light ministers tried to find out very early what they might have to expect from the Moravians. They tried to invite them formally to debates or to draw them out in informal conversations.⁴⁷ Following Zinzendorf's directions, the Moravians avoided these debates. However, these encounters could not be evaded, and predestination and atonement were found to be at odds soon enough. English-speaking Moravian itinerants ventured into New Light territory,⁴⁸ and New Lights usurped the New Building in Philadelphia in the face of Moravian opposition. Finally new ministers were only allowed to preach in the new building if they promised not to meddle with predesti-

⁴⁷ See Appendix No. 6-8.

⁴⁸ Okely's Diary (of an itinerant missionary tour from Philadelphia to New Jersey) May, 1743:

. . . I set forward again from Chester. A young man who also lodged there and with whom I had spoken some words accompanied me. He was awakened by Whitefield some time ago, what I had spoken to him had affected him and he was now become as bad as ever he was again or worse. I told him the reason why he must continue a slave of sin and the Devil, because he did not believe in Jesus Christ and had not experienced the power of the blood in his heart. We were very hearty together. I went about 3 miles with him but as his way led too far back into the Country to Fogs Manor (Faggs Manor, Samuel Finley's parish) into the very mouth of the Presbyterians I was not inclined to go any further, he told me he would be very glad to see me there . . . I gave him a *Fellow Traveller* . . . (This is a pamphlet beginning with the words "Dear Fellow Traveller." Its full title is "A Traveller's present being a short History of Religion" printed [and probably written] by James Hutton, London, 1742. It contains a description of the creation of the world by Christ, etc.).

Okely's Diary, Moravian Archives, Box O. "Fellow Traveller" Manlin Library, Vol. 4, Engl. Apologies, Moravian Archives. Finley's parish, see also Appendix No. 7.

nation.⁴⁹ Tennent countered by writing a condemnation of the Moravians.⁵⁰

Before long the Moravians faced still another competitor. The Halle Pietists became concerned about Moravian advances among the church people in Pennsylvania and, at the same time, became aware of the magnitude of the missionary task in Pennsylvania. Therefore G. A. Francke, the director of the pietist establishments in Halle, decided to pay attention to a request for a Lutheran minister which had come from Pennsylvania some time before and to send a young missionary, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, to Pennsylvania instead of sending him to India.⁵¹ With a recommendation from the Lutheran Court Preacher in London, Muhlenberg arrived in America in November, 1742, and took over the Lutheran congregation of Philadelphia, which had been served for more than a year by Count Zinzendorf.⁵²

Although Zinzendorf yielded in Philadelphia, this did not mean that Muhlenberg had from now on no difficulties in organizing the Lutherans in Pennsylvania. He had arrived when Moravian missionary activity was expanding rather than receding in Pennsylvania, and he had no ample supply of itinerant ministers at his disposal as the Moravians had.⁵³ To him the Moravians with their ordination of laymen to the ministry and their swarms of itinerants were as obnoxious as they were to Tennent and his New Light Presbyterians.

Muhlenberg, isolated and alone, was nevertheless a greater challenge to the Moravians than all the Old Side Presbyterians were to the New Lights. Muhlenberg was an indefatigable mis-

⁴⁹ See Appendix No. 5.

⁵⁰ See Gilbert Tennent, *The Necessity of Holding Fast to the Truth* (Boston: Kneeland & Green, 1743), p. 77 (App.).

⁵¹ Thomas Tappert, ed., *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1945), I, 5.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 75 ff.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

sionary who took nothing for granted, a fervent pietist who felt attracted by the task of building a church rather than living the staid life of a representative of an established church.⁵⁴ On the other hand the Moravian Church had spread itself too thin and had tried to be too much to too many. Zinzendorf's "tropes" were bound to fail; the laymen could not grasp this scheme and wanted either to belong to a real Lutheran or to a real Moravian Church. The reluctance of the Moravian Church to proselytize and their faithful adherence to Zinzendorf's plan was to Muhlenberg's advantage because an open proselytizing at the height of the Moravian revival might have led to the conversion of many Lutherans and Reformed to the Moravian Church.⁵⁵

During the same time the New Lights never ceased to proselytize. Simultaneously they strengthened their church organization. In 1744 Tennent was installed as minister of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia by order of the Presbytery of New Brunswick.⁵⁶ In 1745 the Presbytery of New Brunswick, the organization of the New Light which had been excluded from the Synod of Philadelphia in 1741, joined with the

⁵⁴ Muhlenberg's emphasis on the *ecclesia plantanda* (the church in the state of planting) as against the "planted" or established church (*ecclesia plantata*) occurs several times in his journals. He comments on the fact that ministers in Europe are used to enjoying the benefits of being part of the establishment, and are, therefore, ill adapted to missionary work in America.

⁵⁵ From the arrival of the first Sea Congregation (1742) onward until the time of the arrival of Pastor Brunholtz and Catechists Kurtz and Schaum (1745) and of Schlatter (1747), the Moravians were at a great advantage because they vastly outnumbered the missionaries of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Furthermore since the Moravian missionaries did not demand salaries but were maintained by the General Economy of Bethlehem, the settlers appreciated their services to an even greater extent.

⁵⁶ See "Records of the New Brunswick Presbytery," Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

dissenting Presbytery of New York in establishing the Synod of New York.⁵⁷

Tennent preached in the New Building to the converts of the Whitefield revival. The Moravian sympathizers on the board of trustees of the New Building had given up all hope of recovering it for its original interdenominational use, and for all practical purposes it had become the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia.⁵⁸

The Old Side Presbyterians were no serious competitors to the New Lights; they shared their conservatism with the Anglicans and tried to carry on as if nothing had happened. It was obvious that in case of a future reunion the New Lights would set the pace.⁵⁹

In the year 1748 the period of the Great Awakening drew to a close. Several events marked the end of one and the beginning of another era. A new denominational consciousness asserted itself in the consolidation of church organizations. In September, 1747, the Reformed ministers under the leadership of Michael Schlatter met for their first "Coetus".⁶⁰ In August, 1748, the Lutheran ministers convened for their first synod.⁶¹ Attempts had been made in 1745 by the active Swedish layman Peter Kock to unite Swedish and German Lutheran ministers in such a synod; but the Swedish minister Nyberg, who worked under the Moravian plan of "tropes", had deliberately prevented these attempts from succeeding.⁶² In 1748 the Moravians could no longer stave off a consolidation of the German denomina-

⁵⁷ See *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁵⁸ See Appendix No. 4.

⁵⁹ See Trinterud, *op. cit.*, p. 169 ff.

⁶⁰ See *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of Pennsylvania 1734-1792* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1903), p. 33.

⁶¹ See W. Mann, ed., *Nachrichten von den Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinden in Nordamerika* (Hallesche Nachrichten) (Philadelphia: Eisenhart, 1895).

⁶² See Appendix No. 9.

tions and were thus forced to tighten their own organization. In October, 1748, the first synod of the Moravian church in America was held;⁶³—all previous synods had been held under the same interdenominational plan as the first seven synods. The synod practically abandoned the plan of “tropes”, and it was recommended to all those people who desired to stay under the care of the Moravian missionaries that they move to such villages where a regular Moravian community could be established. In the following year the British Parliament recognized the Moravian church as “an ancient Protestant Church” and granted to the Moravians privileges similar to those enjoyed by the Quakers.⁶⁴ This Act of Parliament marked the end of the Moravian Church as an ecumenical movement and the beginning of the church as a new denomination among other denominations. In the same year the first overtures were made to reunite the Presbyterian Church.⁶⁵

The following period of a renewed denominational consciousness saw the process of adaptation of these different denominations to the American environment. The Great Awakening, however, remained to all of them as their common American heritage and a starting point for an indigenous development of a pluralist society.

⁶³ The Moravian synod of 1748 ordered that there should be three grades of ordination: acolyte, deacon, and minister, and that for the ministry in the Moravian church special ordination would be required even in such cases where the candidate had been previously ordained for the ministry of another denomination. The congregations which had been served under Zinzendorf's plan of “tropes” were dissolved and those members who insisted on being associated with the Moravian church were asked to move to such places which could be recognized as a Moravian community (Gemeinort). (See Minutes of the Synod of 1748 in Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.)

⁶⁴ See Levering, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-222.

⁶⁵ See *Records of the Presbyterian Church, op. cit.*, p. 239.

III

THE NEW DENOMINATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

THE WORD "DENOMINATION" is in itself significant, because it conveys immediately the idea of separate identity and multiplicity. Like the denominations of a currency, the religious groups in America were stamped with their face value and arranged in an interdependent system.

In Europe, where there had been the contrast of church and sect, the time of the Great Awakening saw the attempts at unity of church and movement. The following years in America, however, were the years of the consolidation of religious groups on equal terms. Before the Awakening many groups had lived in a stage of transition, not knowing too much about each other's positions. After the Awakening every group was properly "denominated" and knew about its allies and its enemies, its competitors and its prospects.

The new denominational consciousness which was at the root of this development had grown out of the dialogue of minister and layman. Called upon to judge ministers with regard to conversion and orthodoxy, the layman needed standards of judgment; subject to the verdict of the layman, the minister had to define and defend his position in order to command allegiance for a greater length of time. The layman tended to follow the preacher who seemed to him most inspiring at the moment.

This interest could only be created by granting the layman full participation in matters of religious authority. During the years of the Awakening many a minister was surrounded by a group of faithful laymen who helped him break up locked churches;¹ in later years the minister was accompanied by the worthy elders of his church to synods and conferences, where they assisted him in presenting his views.² This participation did not always lead to the consolidation of religious groups. It also fostered schisms. A congregation sometimes split because one party adhered to one minister and the other to a second minister. Many a time the split was hastened on by the fact that a group of conservative elders perpetuated their position of power in the face of opposition from younger or poorer laymen. The appearance of a rival preacher then was only the outward cause for the exodus of a frustrated party. The building of a rival church frequently tied the revolting laymen to a huge debt, and thus indebtedness would perpetuate the schism even when the first cause of secession was long since forgotten.

Participation alone, therefore, was not enough to transform partisanship into a real denominational consciousness. Democratic church constitutions had to be introduced which permitted a smooth succession of elders or vestrymen and prevented the monopolizing of power by a few rich laymen. Furthermore the layman had to be interested in the organization of his denomination beyond the parish level so that he would not consider only his own pastor and his congregation when thinking of his religious group. A prerequisite for a positive denominational consciousness of the laymen was therefore the solidarity of the ministers of a religious group.

¹ During the period of the Great Awakening rival factions of congregations, or two denominations using a church together, very often used to lock each other out of the church, and as often the laymen of the other faction would break open doors or enter through windows.

² See, e.g., Appendix No. 9.

The attempts of the ministers of the different denominations to present to their laity the harmonious aspect of a solidary clergy were only partially successful in the years following the period of the Great Awakening. Similarly the development of democratic church constitutions took some time among the different groups. However, the general direction of the evolution of religious organization was clearly indicated.

The first steps in this direction were taken even during the period of the Awakening. The revival of 1740 had been a very shortlived event, and the enthusiasm subsided soon enough.³ The enthusiast and convert of yesterday needed a group with which he could share his experience today and a denomination which could give him a sense of identity tomorrow. The consolidations of 1745-48 marked the end of the first step and the beginning of the next one. The following ten years saw a gradual strengthening of the position, membership, and ministry of the English and German churches in Pennsylvania. By 1755 the turmoil of the Awakening had quieted down even among the Presbyterians,⁴ and in 1758 New Light and Old Side could reunite.⁵ This reunion provided the basis for an enormous growth of the Presbyterian Church in the next decade. The German churches made equal headway. Their ministry had increased by virtue of their connections with active church authorities in Europe. However, at the same time they had evolved

³ See Cartwright Austin, "The Great Awakening in Philadelphia," B.A. thesis, Swarthmore College, 1953.

⁴ See letter of the First Presbyterian Church to Rev. S. Chandler, London, Philadelphia, March 15, 1755:

"... though we have had formerly many Separations and Divisions amongst us, yet for some years past there has subsisted a great harmony and Unity of Spirit."

Records of the First Presbyterian Church, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

⁵ See Leonard J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1949), p. 144 ff.

strong American church authorities of their own.⁶ Through some unhappy coincidences, the German Reformed Church could not quite overcome divisive tendencies.⁷ The Lutheran Church, in the meantime, made great progress in matters of solidarity and in the introduction of church democracy. The constitution designed by Muhlenberg for the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia in 1762 was a masterpiece, guaranteeing a swift turnover of layman leadership by means of free elections.⁸ The Swedish Provost Dr. Wrangel followed Muhlenberg's example and introduced a similar constitution in the Swedish Lutheran church in 1765.⁹

⁶ The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania was looking for guidance and supply with ministers to the University of Halle and the Lutheran Court Preacher in London (usually a Halle Alumnus). Both the European contacts, however, were not directly connected with church authorities. Ministers ordained prior to their coming to Pennsylvania were usually ordained in some small principality that maintained friendly relations with the University of Halle. The Lutheran Synod which was founded in 1748 in Pennsylvania was therefore an independent body that could freely co-operate with Halle, but was not bound to receive orders from Halle. Nevertheless Muhlenberg referred to the "Fathers in Halle" as if they were a church authority, and he used to ask congregations whether they wanted to be under the pastoral care of these "Fathers."

The Reformed Church was connected with the Classis of Amsterdam, a local "Presbytery" of the Dutch Reformed Church. This body had no direct responsibilities for any activities in America but adopted a missionary attitude toward America and finally a certain amount of supervision over the Dutch and German Reformed Churches in America. Rivalries in the German Reformed Church of Pennsylvania were the cause of frequent recourse to the Classis, therefore the Classis was directly involved in American church affairs in spite of the existence of an independent Coetus, founded in 1747.

⁷ Divisive tendencies were most marked in Philadelphia, where Schlatter had to combat rival ministers, first Rubel and then Steiner. See later chapters of this thesis for an analysis of Schlatter's inexperienced but vigorous activities.

⁸ Th. Tappert, ed., *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1945), I, 559 ff.

⁹ See Minutes of the Vestry of Gloria Dei Church (Old Swede's), Philadelphia.

Another instance of increasing solidarity among the ministers was the foundation of the Presbyterian ministers' fund, which gave to ministers as a result of a common effort a certain amount of social security.¹⁰

With greater stability the minister could assert his leadership much more effectively and could insist upon discipline and orderly administration. In the times of the Awakening many a minister may have had a much greater influence on the laymen attached to him. But this influence was bound to vanish as soon as the revivalist enthusiasm disappeared; therefore it was an uncertain thing on which long-term leadership could not be based.

It is therefore not surprising that the revivalist of 1740 soon became a disciplinarian, and that the minister who in matters of administration was under the control of the layman wanted to see the layman under his control in matters of church discipline. Gilbert Tennant, who in 1740 called in the layman as a judge of the state of conversion of his minister, warned that no layman should be sent out to teach and exhort because it would be of dreadful consequences to church discipline.¹¹

Denominational organization under vigorous but constitutional leadership appealed to most of the laymen, and the churches gained in membership and were able to attract the recent immigrants as well as the religious seekers who had made many experiments with the "Pennsylvania religion" in the period of the Awakening. However, as prosperity and social organization increased in Pennsylvania, the churches had the additional

¹⁰ See letter of the Corporation for Relief (Presbyterian Ministers' Fund), March 4, 1760, signed F. Alison:

"... Many of the lower Ranks who flocked in thither were ignorant, vicious and intractable, readier to learn the vices of their Indian neighbours than to teach them the more perfect ways of God . . . (they) were highly pleased with the prevailing principles that Gospel ministers should work for their livings and Preach for Charity . . .

Records of the Corporation for Relief, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

¹¹ See Appendix No. 11.

appeal of being socially more attractive than the small and radical country sects which gave their members no opportunity to express social advancement in terms of higher pew rents and fashionable ceremonies.¹² The Anglican church profited most from this development and was thereby compensated for the afflictions of the Awakening.

The sects, on the other hand, experienced a similar development of denominational consciousness as the churches. The first important factor for this development among the sects was their reaction toward the Awakening; the second factor was the concern for the coming generation. Most of the sects rejected revivalism because of their quietist position, at which they had arrived under the influence of Philadelphia mysticism and other quietist currents of thought of the two preceding generations. They saw religious experience in contemplation or in the reading of the Bible but not in enthusiastic fits. Furthermore many of their leaders still had in mind the persecution and other afflictions through which they had safely guided their heritage and did not want to be imposed upon. The Quakers compared the Presbyterian revivalists with the Ranters;¹³ the radical pietist Christopher Sauer saw in Whitefield's performance a great deal of egocentrism and spiritual pride.¹⁴

Opposition to revivalism could at best provide an awareness of difference. A positive denominational consciousness had to be caused by a different need. Sectarian leaders faced the task of maintaining the solidarity of the sect in a difficult time and of transmitting their religious heritage to their children. This

¹² The Lutheran church stepped into the footsteps of the Anglican church; thus at the funeral of Rev. Handschuh Muhlenberg had to borrow the black pall for the coffin from the Anglicans, etc. See *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg, op. cit.*, II, 125 f.

¹³ In several events of disturbances the Quakers ordered the reprinting of Barclay's "The Anarchy of the Ranters." See also Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, Friends Record Office, Archstreet, Philadelphia.

¹⁴ See *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, 1741, *passim*.

challenge produced a strengthening of denominational consciousness among the sects. In the 1750's sects like the Quakers or the Schwenkfelders tried to tighten their discipline as a religious body; in the 1760's and early 1770's they reprinted the works of their forefathers, rewrote their history, and restated their beliefs in order to implant their religious heritage in the coming generation.¹⁵ The Schwenkfelders had their first general conference in 1762 and thereby started their existence as a denomination, having been nothing but an informal association of believers before that time.¹⁶

In this way, churches as well as sects lined up in the great spectrum of denominations; and each of them had to carve out its specific career and represent its view to other groups in a concert of different beliefs and traditions. In this respect the development of the Moravian Church is a characteristic example. The very intention of the Moravian movement had been to bridge the gaps between religious groups and to usher in the time of ecumenical co-operation. The fate of the movement was to spend itself in a vast missionary endeavor in Pennsylvania and other American colonies only to retrace its steps a few years later, gradually reducing its scope until it became one denomination among others. The first step in this direction was the introduction of Moravian synods and of a stricter discipline in matters of ordination as well as a radical limitation of the missionary field. Spangenberg, the great consolidator of the Moravian Church in America, had to put these decisions into

¹⁵ The Meeting for Sufferings becomes in 1771 also Overseer of the Press and begins a veritable publication campaign; diaries of Woolman, the works of William Penn, etc., are reprinted "for the thoughtless youth;" a committee is appointed "to inquire into the History of Friends in these provinces," etc. (See Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, pp. 351, 368, Friends Record Office, Archstreet, Philadelphia.) At about the same time the Schwenkfelder Christopher Schultz published his vindication of Kaspar Schwenkfeld.

¹⁶ See statement of the first general conference, 1762, of the Schwenkfelder Church, Schwenkfelder Library.

practice, often against the will of zealous Moravian missionaries who lived as far away as Newport, Rhode Island, clinging to their flocks, unwilling to give up untenable outposts.¹⁷ The second step was the disbanding of the General Economy, as Bethlehem's ingenious communal administration was called.¹⁸ This General Economy had served as the base of Moravian missions in America; pooling all skills and resources, the Moravians had been able to maintain Bethlehem as a headquarters, educational center, nursery, and hospital, thus setting free a great number of Moravians for itinerant missionary work. With the reduction of missionary work, the General Economy lost its original purpose, although an immediate change was avoided. The first preparations for the dissolution of the Economy were made in 1759; in 1762 it was formally dissolved, and all Moravian artisans were put on a basis of private enterprise. The third step was the establishment of separate and distinct church authorities for the Moravian Church in Europe and America, both of which were incorporated in a common administration under a board of Elders. This final step was completed in the 1770's.¹⁹

The general trend which appears in the development of this church is the transition from missionary work to the establishment of indigenous American church authorities, who finally became the equals of their European initiators. With slight variations, this is true of all the other churches as well, and in their own way applies even to the sects. The final stage of federation on equal terms with European church bodies, which was

¹⁷ The Moravian missionary Yarrel at Newport, R.I., defied the orders of Spangenberg ". . . we do not take your letter to mean that we should leave them so abruptly. I know your tender and compassionate heart so well . . . yet I am also of your mind that we should not beat the air . . ." (May, 1757). Moravian Archives, Box Y.

¹⁸ See Joseph M. Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pa.* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing Co., 1903), p. 417.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 418 ff.

reached by the Moravian Church before the Revolution, was never achieved by other churches because of the declaration of the political independence of America. However, there had been numerous attempts before the Revolution to pave the way toward such a federation which might have connected the Anglican Church and the German and Swedish Lutheran churches of America with each other and with the Church of England. While in the time of the Great Awakening the overtures toward a unity of believers had been made by separatists and revivalists in the 1760's the attempts at church union were prompted by politically interested clergymen.²⁰

A review of the development of different denominations will illustrate this general trend. The German Reformed Church was one of the most populous churches in Pennsylvania, but its members were greatly in need of ministers. The Classis of Amsterdam, a local "Presbytery" of the Dutch Reformed Church with no responsibilities for America, adopted a missionary attitude toward the unchurched German Reformed in Pennsylvania and corresponded with the few ministers who happened to have come to Pennsylvania in one way or the other.²¹ In 1747 the Classis commissioned Michael Schlatter, a Reformed minister from St. Gall, Switzerland, to inspect the missionary field in America and to organize local church authorities. Schlatter fulfilled this task with great efficiency. He delineated seven parishes among the German Reformed on his first inspection tour and got the respective elders of these parishes to send calls for ministers to the Classis.²² In the same year Schlatter con-

²⁰ See William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church, Vol. II, Pennsylvania* (Hartford: The Church Press, 1871), 432-33.

²¹ See *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of Pennsylvania 1734-1792* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1903), pp. 1-31.

²² See the Journal of Rev. Schlatter in H. Harbaugh, *The Life of the Rev. Michael Schlatter* (Philadelphia: Lindsay, 1857), p. 131 ff. The seven charges included Germantown, Tulpehocken, Lancaster, Providence, Goshenhoppen, Indian Creek and Schippack, Monocacy.

vened a Coetus of the German Reformed ministers residing in Pennsylvania and thus established the first indigenous church authority.²³ In 1751 Schlatter was back in Europe representing the needs of the Reformed Church in America to Dutch, German, and English authorities.²⁴ He also recruited young ministers and took six of them back to America.²⁵ In the 1760's the Reformed Church became a respectable institution, with more than forty parishes and approximately fifteen ministers.²⁶ Unfortunately Schlatter lost his standing in the church through unpopular political commitments. He also was not too successful in controlling his own parish, which was split by rival preachers.²⁷ These disturbances retarded the emergence of the German Reformed Church as a unified body of equal status to their foster parents. The recourse to the Classis was a natural weapon in the rivalries of the Reformed ministers in Pennsylvania.²⁸ Therefore the Classis seems to be more prominent in the life of the German Reformed Church of this period than similar authorities in the life of the Lutheran Church. As a result of the divisive tendencies in the Reformed Church, one parish applied in 1764 to be admitted into the Anglican Church.²⁹ However, this attempt at church union was of a quite different character from similar tendencies in the Swedish Lutheran Church.³⁰

²³ The first coetus was attended by the ministers Boehm, Weiss, Rieger, and Schlatter and the elders of their congregations. See *Minutes of the Coetus*, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

²⁴ See "Schlatter's Appeal" in H. Harbaugh, *The Fathers of the German Reformed Church* (Lancaster: Sprenger, 1857), p. 89 ff. See also his letter, Appendix No. 12.

²⁵ The six ministers were Otterbein, Stoy, Waldschmidt, Rubel, Wissler, Frankenfeld. See *Minutes of the Coetus*, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

²⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 64 (regarding Rubel).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 174 ff.

²⁹ See Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-97.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 411, p. 433.

The Swedish Lutheran Church had been for a long time under the supervision of provosts who were usually chaplains of the Swedish king.³¹ In this respect the Swedish Lutheran Church enjoyed much more official attention at home than any other American church. However the settlers of New Sweden had almost forgotten their Swedish language.³² They were also comparatively few in number, and therefore the Swedish ministers had time to co-operate with other Lutheran ministers as well as with the Anglican clergy. Dr. Wrangel, the most important of the Swedish provosts, who lived in Philadelphia from 1760 to 1768, founded two additional churches, preached to Germans and English, held lectures to the Anglican clergy, and was suspected of being a Methodist who intended to subvert the Anglican as well as his own church.³³ He was finally recalled to Sweden because some of his own Swedish colleagues opposed him.³⁴ On his way back to Sweden he wanted to negotiate with the Bishop of London a possible merger of the Anglican and Lutheran churches in America.³⁵ His recall is a demonstration of the drawbacks of dependence on European patronage, and his plans of church union may be interpreted as an attempt to throw off this dependence and to create a strong and united established church in America, doing away with ethnic church groups as well as with European supervision.

The German Lutheran Church was better off than the German Reformed and the Swedish Lutheran Church. It started out with relatively little European supervision to begin with

³¹ See Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden*, Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. II (Philadelphia, 1874), Introduction, p. vii ff.

³² See Reincke's diary of his visit among the Swedes at Pensneck and Raccon, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³³ See Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 354, 360.

³⁴ His congregation protested against his recall and he himself seems to have done everything he could do to stay on in America. See Minutes of the Vestry of Gloria Dei (Old Swede's), Philadelphia.

³⁵ See Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

and remained free from divisive tendencies. The first fact was the more surprising since the king of England was himself a Lutheran and might very well have taken the Lutheran Church in America under his personal supervision, sending a provost as the Swedish king used to do.³⁶ The lack of divisive tendencies was surprising because there were Lutheran ministers in Pennsylvania from different universities, and the Halle missionary Muhlenberg had no special privileges. Furthermore, Halle, as a noted center of Pietism, did not necessarily enjoy the sympathies of more orthodox Lutheran Church authorities.³⁷ Nevertheless, Muhlenberg and the Halle missionaries, who were sent subsequently to America, as new calls were issued, soon dominated the scene and succeeded in bringing the Lutheran ministers of different backgrounds peacefully into the newly founded synod.³⁸ This smooth development was chiefly due to Muhlenberg's skill. Knowing that he had no power to command, he always used the indirect approach of lining up support. Unlike Schlatter, who established the Reformed Coetus in the very year in which he arrived in America, Muhlenberg had to wait for six years after his arrival before he could convene a Lutheran synod. In these years, however, he learned a great deal about "how to win friends and influence people". These experiences were a great advantage to the Lutheran Church. The stability of the German Lutheran Church made the Lutheran ministers less inclined to work for a union with the Anglican Church as the Swedish Lutheran pro-

³⁶ King George I was a Lutheran and so were his successors. They installed Lutheran court preachers in London (Halle Alumni). However, as far as all other affairs were concerned, the king did not interfere with the administration of the Established Church.

³⁷ The University of Halle had been founded as the first Prussian university at the end of the 17th century. The orthodox Lutherans knew Halle as a center of Pietism. The Swedish minister Nyberg emphasized the suspicions against Halle Pietists in his speech at the "consistorium" of 1745. See Appendix No. 9.

³⁸ In 1745 Pastor Brunholtz and the catechists Kurtz and Schaum arrived in Pennsylvania. In 1748 Pastor Handschuh arrived.

vost did. The controversy about an American episcopate made any attempts at such union even less likely.³⁹

The Anglican Church in America was in the most unfortunate position. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel helped Anglican missionaries financially, but in many respects this help was also a handicap. The Anglican laymen were glad that somebody else paid their minister, and they were therefore very reluctant to contribute their own mite.⁴⁰ It is true that this situation made the minister less dependent on the layman, but on the other hand he had to realize that he would be dependent on uninformed church authorities in a very distant place and that his parish was doomed to remain merely a mission forever. Prospects like these did not entice young ministers to look forward to a career in America. Because of this dependence upon the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Bishop of London, the Anglican ministers in Pennsylvania were very late in establishing even a rather informal conference as a kind of interim church authority.⁴¹ The need for more ministers became more pressing as more people joined the Anglican Church because their social advancement motivated them to seek out the higher church.⁴² Local ordination was impossible without a bishop, and the travel of locally educated candidates for ordination across the ocean was perilous and expensive.⁴³ Even Presbyterians admitted the necessity for an American bishop who could perform such important religious rites.⁴⁴ However the very plan of having an American bishop was associated in too many minds with transplanting the established

³⁹ See Muhlenberg's ironic remarks on the "Mother" Church of England, *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg, op. cit.*, II, 374-75.

⁴⁰ See Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 295, conference of April 30, 1760.

⁴² See remarks on Plumstead family, etc. in Frederick Tolles, *Meeting-house and Countinghouse* (Chapel Hill, 1949).

⁴³ See Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

church to America. The civil and political implications of the establishment of an American bishopric were the more dreaded the more clearly the ecclesiastical need of it was recognized. Thus the more ardently and convincingly the Anglican clergymen in America proved their point, the more hostility and apprehensions they had to face.

The demand for an American bishopric could be demonstrated better and better as the number of locally educated candidates for the ministry increased. As long as there was no locally educated clergy, ordination abroad near the centers of education was natural. An indigenous center of education like the College of Philadelphia, however, necessarily demanded as its supplement a bishopric. In the long run the college could not expect to attract young men eager to prepare for the ministry if they would have to venture across the ocean for ordination in any event. Consequently, the president of the College of Philadelphia, the Reverend William Smith, had the understandable inclination to become the first American bishop,⁴⁵ with the result that separatists and sectarians had feared the College of Philadelphia as a potential breeding ground for a new establishment ever since its foundation.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ See letter of Rev. Gordon (London) to Rev. Beatty (Penna.) January 17, 1764:

I have a very bad opinion of Dr. Smith . . . He had ambition enough to aspire an American Bishopric. I should not wonder, should he deny it when he returns, but I have received my information from such hands that I doubt not the truth of it. I was told the Proprietor Mr. Penn informed him that he would oppose such an attempt to the utmost & that Dr. Chandler did the same, so that I suppose he hath dropt the scheme.

Original letter, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

⁴⁶ Christopher Sauer wrote in *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, June 16, 1754: "We hear that ambition, avarice and other bad intentions have combined to establish a high school at Philadelphia for such Germans who do not want to work and do not want to pursue an honest trade, probably with the pretense that lawyers, doctors and ministers could be produced in this country since few good ones immigrate."

Smith tried hard to reach his aim. Frustrated in his attempts to become a bishop, he tried to control the Anglican Church as president of the Anglican conference which he had convened in 1760.⁴⁷ Later he tried to become general agent for the Anglican Church in America, a position in which he would have been a kind of unconsecrated bishop.⁴⁸ However, the Church of England did not back his plans, and America remained under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. Under these circumstances all prospects of American church union never advanced beyond the stage of mere speculation.

The Presbyterian Church was most vocal in rejecting the idea of an American bishopric.⁴⁹ This church had solved its problem of local education and ordination in the period following the Great Awakening. The competition of Old Side and New Light Presbyterians proved in the long run to be a boon to Presbyterianism as a whole. Challenged by the vigor of the locally educated New Lights, the Old Side Presbyterians had shown an ever-increasing interest in the College of Philadelphia. Dr. Francis Alison, the noted Presbyterian scholar and clergyman, became Vice Provost of the College.⁵⁰ In 1750 the larger part of the faculty was Presbyterian. In the meantime the New Lights had consolidated their educational efforts, and the Log College was transferred to Princeton and became the College of New Jersey.⁵¹ When the two wings of Presbyterianism merged in 1758 after seventeen years of separate existence, candidates for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church could be educated in

⁴⁷ See Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

⁴⁹ See Minutes of the General Convention of Delegates appointed by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia and the General Association of Connecticut, 1766-1775, appended to *Records of the Presbyterian Church*, *op. cit.*

⁵⁰ Alison was nominated Vice-Provost when the College was established by a new charter in 1755. See A. F. Gegenheimer, *William Smith* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943), p. 49.

⁵¹ See Trinterud, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

both colleges. The educational rivalry between Old Side and New Lights did not disappear with the merger, and as late as 1766 an undercover fight went on between the two parties with regard to the control of the College of New Jersey.⁵² These controversies, however, did not seriously weaken Presbyterianism. The growth of the Presbyterian Church was indeed so amazing that sectarians and Anglicans alike were apprehensive of the consequences of this development. The Quakers were much less alarmed about plans toward the establishment of an Anglican bishopric than they might have been under different circumstances; they hoped that the work of an Anglican bishop might be a check on the expansion of Presbyterianism.⁵³

The German churches shared with the Presbyterians the advantage of being able to ordain candidates for the ministry locally, and they had made use of this possibility. They were checked in their expansion, however, by the limitations of their ethnic group as well as by insufficient possibilities for the local education to the ministry. Candidates still had to be imported, with the exception of some privately educated young men like the two Lutheran candidates whom Dr. Wrangel had tutored during his stay in America.⁵⁴ Attempts to educate German clergymen at the College of Philadelphia were frustrated by the failure of the Charity School movement, and later attempts were still in a tentative stage up to the time of the Revolution.⁵⁵

The sects did not have the problem of education and ordina-

⁵² See letters of Samuel Purviance Jr. to Ezra Stiles, F. D. Dexter, ed., *Itineraries and Correspondence of Ezra Stiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916), pp. 554-60, especially p. 557.

⁵³ See Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 368; see also S. Purviance to Ezra Stiles, Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 555.

⁵⁴ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. See Index: Wrangel.

⁵⁵ William Smith hoped that Germans could be educated for the ministry in his combined charity school and college system. Many years later a German department was added to the College. See Glenn Weaver, "Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, October, 1957.

tion for the ministry, and most of them had a well-established organization long before the churches began to organize in Pennsylvania. However, the period of church organization was paralleled by some interesting developments in the sectarian groups as well. In 1757, for instance, the Pennsylvania Quakers established the Meeting for Sufferings, which became a kind of executive organ to the Yearly Meeting, which was the highest ranking organization of the Quakers.⁵⁶ This Meeting for Sufferings, which met very frequently and corresponded with its parallel institution in London, was primarily a political instrument; but as the political problems receded, this body became more and more preoccupied with a problem of quite a different character: the religious education of the coming generation and the information of other denominations about the faith of the Quakers.⁵⁷ In pursuit of this aim the Meeting for Sufferings started a large publication program and took care to get Robert Barclay's *Apologia*, the main tract of Quakerism, translated into German in order to put it into the hands of the growing German population also.⁵⁸ A German sect, the Schwenkfelders, organized

⁵⁶ The Meeting for Sufferings was established in 1756; and in 1757 John Pemberton wrote to Samuel Fothergill:

"for twelve months past the meeting for sufferings met every week, and sometimes oftener . . ."

Pemberton-Fothergill Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵⁷ The meeting became a kind of executive organ of the Yearly Meeting. It included delegates of all quarterly meetings. However, as the threat of the war receded, attendance at the meeting decreased, until the yearly meeting granted to the Meeting for Sufferings the right to replace absent delegates through nomination of new members. The meeting appointed a committee which at regular intervals visited the Friends who had chosen to remain in the assembly in order to admonish them not to forget the Quaker testimony. (See Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, Friends Records Office, Archstreet, Philadelphia).

⁵⁸ The Meeting for Sufferings embarked on a large-scale publication program after it had been made Overseer of the Press by the Yearly Meeting. Robert Barclay's *Apologia* was translated into German and finally printed by Christopher Sauer in 1776. The publication was delayed for lack of reliable translators and proof readers. Finally the Schwenk-

during the same period its first denominational convention, drew up plans for the education of their children and published an explanation of the teachings of its founder. Furthermore these Schwenkfelders started a correspondence with their Silesian brethren who had stayed at home. At about the same time the Schwenkfelders entered into a contract among themselves providing for the education of their children in a school supported by the group.⁵⁹

The correspondence of Quakers and Schwenkfelders with their brethren in Europe reflects the independent identity of the sectarian groups in America who had had experiences different from those of their brethren across the ocean and had to interpret their situation.

The development within these few decades tended toward an increase of religious organization as well as church democracy, a growing independence from European tutelage and supervision, and a practical tolerance among denominations which knew that they had to live with each other and that none of them would suffer domination and control by any of the other groups. This tolerance was not always of the mild and benevolent character that Penn might have wished it to be; it was often accompanied by grudges, suspicion, jealousy, horse-trading, and factious quarreling, but from these very quarrels a manifold and distinctly new society emerged. However, as denominations consolidated and as the principle of voluntary

felder C. Schultze served as proof reader. (See his letter to I. Pemberton March, 1773, in Schwenkfelder Library).

⁵⁹ The Schwenkfelders held their first general conference in 1762 because "our children are in such a desolate state and so exposed [to the world] that they will in the future fall a prey to all errors and false doctrines" (see statement of the general conference, Schwenkfelder Library).

In the years 1767-69 they renewed their contacts with the Schwenkfelders who had remained in Silesia. This gave rise to a voluminous correspondence in which the American Schwenkfelders interpreted their situation. See Appendix No. 35.

In 1764 they founded a school, subscribing generously to a school fund.

and constant support of one's own preacher or teacher became more firmly established, activities beyond denominational lines also increased. Consolidation and incorporation also implied limitation. The 1740's had been the time of the revivalist; the 1760's were the time of religious corporations.⁶⁰

In summary it can be stated that the epoch of the new denominational consciousness introduced the following trends: a vigorous denominational partisanship born out of controversies which led to a kind of competitive coexistence; an emancipation of the layman and his voluntary support of the church, which gave him unprecedented power in ecclesiastical affairs; a corresponding interest of the clergy in attaching the layman to the church by means of efficient church constitutions; and, resulting from these developments, the emergence of a distinctly American denominationalism.

This process took place in three consecutive periods. The first period, from 1742 to 1748, saw the change from revivalistic cooperation to denominational and intra-denominational controversies which were finally overcome by first steps towards consolidation and, in several cases, by the first establishment of indigenous American church authorities. In the next period, from 1749 to 1758, the divisions created by the Awakening were overcome in the Presbyterian Church; some of the sects changed their leadership; and the Anglican, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches cooperated and increased their influence and membership in a province which had been dominated chiefly by dissenters. During the third period, from 1758 to 1770, the sects became preoccupied with the problem of transmitting the heri-

⁶⁰ In 1765 the Swedish Lutheran, German Lutheran and German Reformed Churches obtained charters of incorporation from the governor which enabled them to administer their funds and to protect their privileges in case of any changes in the constitution of the province. From this time on H. M. Muhlenberg refers to himself in official documents as Rector of the Corporation. See *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg, op. cit.*, II, 311.

tage of their forefathers to the coming generation, while the churches made further strides toward a separate American identity of their own, although this process was interrupted by the controversy over an American episcopate.

IV

THE PROCESS OF SECULARIZATION

THE FEW DECADES that witnessed a consolidation of religious denominations in Pennsylvania also represented a time of increasing interest in secular matters. Trade, war, expansion, a growing political community, commercial and legal transactions, and urban concentration tended to provide more opportunities for artisans and professional men who were more interested in worldly improvements than in religious controversies.

The growth of the legal profession in Philadelphia is in itself a symptom of these social changes. In the early 1750's Tench Francis was the only lawyer of note available in Pennsylvania, and he thoroughly enjoyed the privileges which went with this monopoly position.¹ A few years later a considerable number of lawyers offered their services to the public, and young men

¹ On July 1, 1753 Governor Hamilton wrote to Thomas Penn, referring to the attorney general (Tench Francis):

. . . the person executing that office pretends to think he does the Government a favour in accepting it, and having no competition in his profession is become more capricious and difficult of access than a first minister of State. As we know nobody here who deserves the name of a lawyer here but that gentleman . . . it must fall to his share to be consulted . . . unless care be taken to introduce some other person of ability from abroad.

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

from leading Philadelphia families went across the Atlantic to obtain their law degrees in London.² Soon the lawyers took over from the ministers as the natural leaders of the public; and when this process was completed, the Revolution could begin.

The process of secularization, however, has more dimensions than this obvious social change might indicate. Social change was the consequence rather than the cause of the growing pre-occupation with matters of the world.

The term secularization was originally applied to the confiscation of church property, but as time went by this term obtained a wider meaning and has come to refer to a general alienation from religious influence and an emancipation of the layman from ecclesiastical control. Spiritual concerns gave way to temporal interests; the pilgrim's progress turned into the layman's progress. Metaphysics was divorced from ethics, and a so-called Protestant Ethic became a code of behavior in a temporal world. This general ethic became the property of all good citizens in the same way that confiscated church property had become the property of the state.

Two important tendencies facilitate such a process: firstly, every religion or system of ideas leaves wide areas of human experience without explicit advice as to what one must do in any particular instance. Secondly, past experiences tend to influence new ventures, and older values and ideas will in one way or another shape new developments. Therefore secular values and secular institutions bear so often the stamp of previous religious ideas and organizations. On the other hand religious life is influenced by the structure of secular developments.

In Colonial Pennsylvania these tendencies were manifest in a

² In 1764, eight prominent lawyers had well established law practices in Philadelphia; and more than ten young men were admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in that year. See Burton A. Konkle, *Benjamin Chew* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), p. 116; see also Appendix No. 27.

number of areas. A strong secular liberalism emerged in the days of the Great Awakening and penetrated many of the social enterprises which previously had been a concern of religious groups. On the other hand the churches evolved a pattern of layman participation which set the pace for an ever increasing development of political democracy. The secular liberalism attracted many laymen who had been interested in the moral and challenging aspects of the Great Awakening but had not been interested in the doctrinal controversies which followed the revival. Since it seemed to be impossible to build an interdenominational community on religious grounds, the liberals were looking forward to a different "Community of God in the Spirit" on a philosophical rather than a theological basis. Zinzendorf's plan had failed, but Franklin's plan advanced. Instead of a movement-church, Franklin tried to build up numerous intellectual and educational organizations which would draw together those laymen who were interested in civic improvement and educational advancement rather than in conversion and worship. The founding of the Library Company,³ the American Philosophical Society,⁴ and the Academy⁵ were all steps in that

³ The petition of the Library Company to the Proprietor contained the following paragraph:

Our unhappy Divisions and Animosities of late have too much interrupted that charitable and friendly Intercourse which formerly subsisted among all Societies in this place; but as all Parties come to understand their true Interest we hope these animosities will cease and that men of all Denominations will mutually assist in carrying on the public affairs in such manner as will most tend to the Peace and welfare of the Province. (signed): B. Franklin, Hugh Roberts, Joseph Stretell, Tho. Hopkinson, Jacob Duché, Philip Syng, Sam. Rhoads, John Jones Jr., Evan Morgan, Sam. Morris.

Penn official manuscripts, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, July 1742.

⁴ American Philosophical Society, founded by B. Franklin in 1743 in cooperation with John Bartram. See Brook Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, 1956), p. 67 ff.

⁵ See Albert P. Gegenheimer, *William Smith, Educator and Churchman* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943), p. 43.

direction. As a result of this emphasis, Philadelphia could boast of facilities for a very liberal education as early as 1754.⁶

The political challenges of the period between 1740 and 1770 gave another incentive to secular interests. In the course of partisan debates the radical pietist Christopher Sauer came to insist on "natural law";⁷ and the spiritual leader of the Schwenkfelders, a usually rather reserved quietist group, protested vigorously against the attempts to disenfranchise a large part of the population.⁸ It is interesting to observe how these leaders appropriated new ideas and added new terms to their vocabularies.

The power of the laymen in ecclesiastical affairs was paralleled by a liberal sophistication in secular matters. Furthermore, many a layman had changed his religious affiliation several times during the period of the Great Awakening. The revival had meant to the laymen not only a religious experience but also an emancipation of his judgment from dogma and authority. The religious experience vanished quickly enough, but the emancipation had come to stay. In the rabid controversies which followed the revival, many a layman may have found a secret pleasure in watching the learned ministers cut each other down to size. The patronizing air which Franklin assumed when writing of these events, the sophisticated impartiality which he adopted toward competing claims of sects and churches, is a typical expression of this emancipation.⁹ The ecumenical hopes of the pietists and revivalists were supplanted by the "non-sectarian" attitude of the liberal layman.

This liberal attitude was thus partly a reaction against the increasing denominational consciousness and partly an out-

⁶ See Appendix No. 21.

⁷ See "Hoechst noetige Warnung," Germantown: Christopher Sauer, 1755.

⁸ See Appendix No. 15.

⁹ See B. Franklin, *Autobiography* (New York: The Pocket Library, 1954), pp. 132, 133.

growth of that challenge to the individual soul which was the foundation of the Great Awakening. In Pennsylvania this attitude was most encouraged because the impact of the Awakening had been universally felt, and the denominational consciousness which grew after the Awakening was diverse and no one denomination could set the pace. In fact the liberal who kept himself aloof from denominational involvements had a much freer hand and a much better opportunity to influence the course of events.

It is characteristic of these developments that to a certain degree even denominational leadership came into the hands of political rather than religious representatives of the respective religious groups during the 1750's. Isaac Norris, the speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly and leader of the Quaker party, was not a "weighty" Friend as his predecessor John Kinsey had been.¹⁰ He was not a religious leader and preferred political strength to religious consistency. In the same way the versatile spokesman of the church interest, William Smith, was everything else but a successful pastor.¹¹

It may be interesting to note that during the same years the Indian culture on the periphery of Pennsylvania produced a similar phenomenon: Teedyuscung, the self-appointed king of the Delawares, onetime convert of the Moravian missionaries, was not a weighty man among the Indians; but he had the assertiveness and political skill which impressed the white man.¹²

The separation of religious and political leadership of de-

¹⁰ Norris was not very interested in the management of religious affairs; see I. Sharpless, *A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Leach, 1899), II, 12.

¹¹ See William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, Vol. II: Pennsylvania* (Hartford: The Church Press, 1871), 419.

¹² See Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), pp. 106, 107.

nominal groups went even further in the next stage of the development. In the first stage the religious and political affairs had been managed by the same group of persons; in the second stage, the more politically inclined showed less interest in religion. The new piety was patriotism. A patriot was a man devoted to a secular cause; he appealed to a new community of believers. The solidarity which he wanted to promote was civic solidarity. Since Pennsylvania was threatened by war, this solidarity was badly needed; and in the course of the crisis Franklin emerged as the "Great Patriot", replacing as a popular hero the great revivalists of the previous decade.

This patriotism of the 18th century was quite different from the nationalism of the 19th century. The one was an outgrowth of rationalism, the other a product of romanticism. The patriot relied on the civic spirit of his countrymen, their interest in co-operation and progress; the nationalist, however, tended to think in terms of blood and soil, language and tradition. The patriot was usually a liberal; the nationalist was often a conservative or even a reactionary.

The new gospel of patriotism as well as the general trend toward secularization could be more easily adopted and adapted by the churches than by the sects. Indeed, these new trends increased church membership while they isolated the sects. The sects, whether they were biblicist or inspirationist, had grown out of a concept of a separate and distinct way of life. Their whole life, not merely an occasional ritual on Sundays, was to them a service to God. They wanted to imitate Christ because they all believed in one way or the other in William Penn's equation "No Cross, No Crown". This way of life was bound to break up or to change once the world caught up with it. Consequently many of the sectarians of Pennsylvania either lost their sectarian faith in the decades following the Great Awakening or began to develop into living fossils. The Quakers escaped this dilemma chiefly because they grudgingly tolerated in their

midst many "wet"¹³ and "free" Quakers who eagerly participated in the affairs of the world. A lasting split among the Quakers was avoided because charity was more important to them than discipline. Thus religious Quakers suffered for some time from political decisions made by secular Quakers; nevertheless they refrained from retaliating by means of excommunication.¹⁴ However, this was due not only to self-effacing tolerance but also to the fact that the religious Quakers, on their part, had gone a long way toward secularization and participation in the affairs of the world and only stopped short of giving up manifest principles.¹⁵ While some Quakers had been "disowned" in the days of the Great Awakening because they had participated in revivals and attended the meetings of other societies, a man like Isaac Norris was not disowned, although he defied the decisions of the Yearly Meeting and perpetuated the power of the Quaker party in times of war.

The churches, on the other hand, had not committed themselves to an imitation of Christ on all seven days of the week; and even those who believed in revival and conversion were free from the sectarian spirit. Perhaps it may be said that revival and conversion that had placed the renewal of the covenant at the disposal of everybody had freed the Calvinists from the strictures of the old communal covenant¹⁶ and had therefore opened the gates to a wider world than Puritan England had known.

The accommodation of worldly splendor and worldly interests was thus a prerogative of the churches. Many of their leaders, ministers as well as laymen, vied with each other in the

¹³ See Frederick Tolles, *Meetinghouse and Countinghouse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), p. 142.

¹⁴ See William T. Parsons, "Isaac Norris II, the Speaker," Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1955, p. 183 ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁶ See Larzer Ziff, *The Social Bond of Church Covenant*, *American Quarterly*, X (4, 1958), 454-62.

pursuit of science and education.¹⁷ A liberal education became fashionable, primarily in Anglican circles. Soon Philadelphia could compete with the mother country by producing such fine specimens of polished gentlemen as Francis Hopkinson and Jacob Duchee, who were the avant-garde of an urbane culture in every sense of the term.¹⁸

The awareness of achievements and of an identity of its own made the province lose its provincial character and transformed general patriotism, slowly, into a distinctly American patriotism. This turn of affairs made an impression even on sectarians and separatists; the original Philadelphian contrast between New World and Old World changed into expectations of a new and innocent civilization which would flourish best in isolation, untainted by the vicissitudes of the old Babel across the ocean, which was drifting toward a somber end. This view found an interesting expression in a narrative published by Christopher Sauer Jr. in his newspaper in 1761.¹⁹ The anonymous writer describes, in the form of a utopian story, an accidental encounter of an American ship with Europeans, of whom the Americans had lost sight for several hundred years. The captain of the ship imports some of the Europeans whom he has encountered, to America; and they turn out to be savages not unlike the American Indians, their civilization having declined totally during the time in which America and Europe had not been in contact with each other. The Americans, who had built up their civilization in the meantime in splendid isolation, are now amused by the somersaults and savage dress of the imported European chieftain. They are appalled by the information which the returned captain could give about the decline of European civili-

¹⁷ See Hindle, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

¹⁸ See Gegenheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 95 ff.

¹⁹ *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, July 17, 1761, "Untersuchung, ob etwa die heutigen Europaeischen Voelcker Lust haben moechten dereinst Menschen-Fresser oder wenigstens Hottentotten zu werden. Aus Veranlassung der jetzigen Art Krieg zu fuehren."

zation and the cruelty and barbarism of Europe's inhabitants, that had made continuous progress ever since the French and Indian Wars a few hundred years earlier. This myth of the "ignoble savage", which took its rise so early in American history, has been of importance ever since.

Political consciousness and American patriotism increased chiefly under the impact of the French and Indian War and of the Stamp Act controversy. These were events that preoccupied the minds of men and distracted much of their attention from the religious interests of the preceding time. Young people growing up in these years became used to political demonstrations.²⁰ Worldly distractions, however were not only to be found in the streets, but they also entered the home in the form of a more refined taste and a widening interest in tracts and books on secular rather than on religious topics.²¹ The religious Quakers had to warn the more secularly inclined Friends that they should not lose sight of simplicity in this scramble for worldly achievements.

The German groups were retarded in these developments. Language difficulties and distrust separated them from the main stream of English society. Many thrifty parents deliberately tried to prevent their children from associating with the English children because they feared that the children would want "to keep up with the Joneses", which might prove to be rather expensive.²² However, in the long run, assimilation could not be forestalled. The German churches took the lead in making the Germans "sociable" and in conquering a place for them in the general public.²³ The sectarians disapproved of this development, but even they could not escape from an encounter with

²⁰ See Appendix No. 31.

²¹ See Tolles, *op. cit.*, on "Taste in Books."

²² See Appendix No. 20.

²³ See Th. Tappert, ed., *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1945) II, 5 ff.

the wider world; the very manifoldness of the Pennsylvania Babel forced them to cooperate. Since members of all possible denominations met each other at every country road or at funerals and festivals, it became a matter of social convention not to indulge in religious controversies. To the dismay of sectarian leaders, this state of affairs led only too easily to indifference, deism, or even atheism.²⁴ In short, the whole sectarian way of life appeared rather awkward against a background of such diversity. Only communal ties and a vigorous rejection of higher education could preserve the sects.²⁵

The diversification of the interest of the Germans' groups and the ascendancy of the church group was accompanied by an equal growth in the manifoldness of the German press in Pennsylvania. While Christopher Sauer had held for a very long time a monopoly in this field, printers like the Moravian Henry Miller and Anthony Armbruester became his competitors as time went on.²⁶ Similarly German educational endeavors achieved greater importance; schools like the Germantown Academy or the school attached to the Lutheran Church were the first steps in this direction. Often it was not too easy to provide the economic basis for these schools, but ways and means were soon found. An interesting example of these self-help enterprises was

²⁴ See Appendix No. 35.

²⁵ See the remarks of Sauer, as quoted above, Chapter III, note 46.

²⁶ Franklin printed a number of German books, first of all for the Moravians since Sauer refused to print for them. Sauer printed the bulk of German books and tracts; Anthony Armbruester got a start in business through his association with Franklin in the Charity School printing enterprise (see letter of Smith, Appendix No. 19). The magazine issued by the Charity School movement was short-lived but Armbruester continued to print almanacs and tracts; Henry Miller started his *Philadelphiasche Staatszeitung* in 1760 and thus became the first real competitor to the Sauers' *Pennsylvanische Berichte*. See also Glenn Weaver, "Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV (October, 1957), *passim*.

the establishment of the Schwenkfelder School in 1769.²⁷ Finally a German department could be established at the College of Philadelphia in the 1770's, a plan which in a different way had been included in the Charity School movement of the 1750's.²⁸

As the German community became more prosperous and influential, it became necessary and interesting for young lawyers to take German lessons in order to obtain the patronage of German clients. Thus business interests brought about what even religious and political interests had failed to achieve. At the same time, however, the Quakers began to look out for a reliable translator who might translate their most important book, Robert Barclay's *Apology*, into German in order to represent the Quaker cause to the German groups in the most perfect way.²⁹

On the whole the Germans remained attached to their churches and religious groups up to a later time than the majority of the English population. Prominent leaders, outside the religious field, emerged from the German community only at the time of the Revolution, when General Peter Muehlenberg overshadowed, as a soldier, his father's ministerial fame. Earlier German leaders like Henry Antes,³⁰ who was called the "King of the Germans", and Conrad Weiser,³¹ the Indian agent, had not become public figures in the full sense of the term. Antes remained only a German celebrity, and Weiser's fame was derived primarily from his special profession. Perhaps the only public figures among the German leaders were the Sauers, whose

²⁷ See Appendix No. 36.

²⁸ See Glenn Weaver, *op. cit.*

²⁹ See Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, Friends Record Office.

³⁰ See Edwin McMinn, *The Life and Times of Henry Antes* (Moorestown: Burlington Co., 1886).

³¹ See Paul A. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948).

political views were discussed among the English as well as among the Germans. The general process of secularization, however, brought the ethnic groups more closely together as time passed by.

V

PENNSYLVANIA'S POLITICAL PROBLEM

THE CHIEF POLITICAL problems faced by Pennsylvania in the colonial period were economic and territorial expansion and assimilation of different ethnic groups of immigrants who poured into the country in ever-increasing numbers. All other issues that assumed importance in the course of time were more or less derivatives of these central problems. The struggle for sufficient paper money reflected the needs of expanding commerce in Pennsylvania. The reluctance to establish new counties and the attempts at gerrymandering, once the counties had to be established, stemmed from the first settlers' fear of losing control of the province and from a distrust of the different ethnic groups that had settled in the back-country, clamoring for political rights. The constant defiance of the Proprietaries was a revolt against the strictures imposed on a free development of the colony by an absentee landlord. The controversial issue of the defense of the province originated from the fact that the realities of an expanding empire had caught up with settlers who had hoped to abandon in the New World the warlike habits of the Old World.

The institution which enabled Pennsylvania to cope with these problems was the powerful unicameral assembly which controlled the budget and had the right to meet by adjournment,

This legislature was practically unassailable; the executive was at its mercy. The privileges which made it possible for the assembly to maintain this powerful position in the most critical times had been extorted from the reluctant founder of the colony William Penn.¹ On his second visit to Pennsylvania Penn was faced by a solid group of Quaker representatives who compelled him to grant these privileges by means of a new charter. For this reason it may be said that Penn's great contribution to the development of popular government resulted from his long absence rather than from his presence in the province. A proprietor in residence, shaping the daily policies of his colony, would have given greater weight to the executive and might have prevented the steady growth of the influence of the legislature. A visiting proprietor, after years of absence, had no other choice than to break openly with the local representatives or to sanction the development that had taken place in his absence by giving it the official blessing of a revised charter.

Thus Penn had started the two most important trends in Pennsylvania's development: multi-denominationalism and the rule of the colony by the unicameral assembly or, in more positive terms, tolerance and democracy.

The all-important role of the unicameral assembly impressed Pennsylvania minds to such an extent that it can easily be understood why Benjamin Franklin at the time of the Revolution could conceive only of a unicameral legislature as a true instrument for the expression of the will of the people. Lord Acton, com-

¹ See Glenn A. Lehman, "Gerrymandering in Pennsylvania prior to the Civil War," M.A. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1932, p. 14 ff.

Lehman summarizes the privileges obtained by the assembly in the following ten points: the assembly could (1) initiate legislation (2) sit upon its own adjournment, (3) provide for a fixed number of assemblymen annually, (4) not be dissolved by the governor, (5) control the judiciary, (6) deprive the governor of his appointive power, (7) levy taxes, (8) extend the suffrage qualifications, (9) make elections free and voluntary, (10) extinguish quitrents.

menting on this predilection of Franklin, considers him to be a fool and maintains that Franklin's colleagues must have thought so too.² However, what Lord Acton considered to be the result of ignorance of political science was in fact the outgrowth of decades of practical experience in Pennsylvania politics, which had taught Franklin to rely upon the political power provided by the almighty legislature and to distrust the executive, which was controlled by the "Governor's friends".

The circumstances prevailing in Colonial Pennsylvania were such that a real parliamentary democracy was impossible because the majority party was not able to form a government since this was the prerogative of the appointed governor. Consequently the majority in the legislature became a permanent opposition to the government. This stand-pat situation naturally caused the majority in the legislature to try to obstruct or even subvert the government, but on the other hand it motivated the government to make attempts to curtail the privileges of the legislature and to infiltrate the ranks of representatives by getting some of the "Governor's friends" elected. The Proprietary and Anti-Proprietary Parties were therefore no real parties but rather a governmental and a popular front. Everybody who held a public office by appointment of the governor was ex-officio "unpopular".³

The property qualification for the franchise being moderate,⁴ it might be suspected that the popular front was chiefly made up of the lower classes who fought the privileged groups by means of legislative control. However, this was not the case. A peculiar development of Pennsylvania politics made the richest men in

² See Lord Acton, *Essays on Freedom and Power* (New York: Meridian Books, 1955), p. 174.

³ See Chapter VI, note 5.

⁴ Lehman, *op. cit.*, p. 22, reaches the conclusion that "the fifty acres requirement was met by about half of the rural adult population, while in the city only about ten percent of the male taxpayers could meet the voting specifications (£50)."

the province the champions of the popular cause.⁵ Ever since the Toleration Act the Quaker merchants no longer needed to look to the founder and proprietor of the province as the guardian of their religious liberties and civil rights. The King had guaranteed these liberties, and therefore the proprietor was reduced to the role of a tax collector and feudal overlord. The very toleration for which Penn had lobbied for such a long time in London, once granted, reduced his own stature and made his protection superfluous to the settlers of his Pennsylvania, the more so since he had been so unfortunate as to lobby at the court of the wrong king.⁶ Suspected of being a Jacobite, Penn had to hide in the very year in which the new King William granted the toleration for which Penn had worked for so many years. All these developments affected the relations of the Quaker patricians with the proprietors. Quaker feelings were bound to become even less cordial when the sons of Penn perfectly acquiesced in the role of territorial lords and even abandoned their Quaker faith in order to join the Anglican church, since this befitted their station. Stripped of all ideological functions, the institution of proprietary government had indeed become a feudal relic. An application to the king to take over the government of Pennsylvania was therefore a logical reaction of the Quaker party to this state of affairs.

The fact that the Anti Proprietary party was not built on class interest, which would have tied the majority of the electorate forever to the opposition, was a boon to the Proprietary party. It meant that if only the right issue could be found the Proprietary party had a chance to become a popular party, too. Thus a kind of two-party system, though theoretically impossible,

⁵ The tax record of 1767 indicates that the Pemberton brothers and Isaac Norris had been the wealthiest men in the province. The tax assessment of the Pembertons combined was about equal to the tax estimate of the Proprietary estates.

⁶ See C. E. Vulliamy, *William Penn* (London: Geoffrey Bless, 1933), pp. 222-223.

could indeed develop because of a peculiar constellation of political events.

The right issue came up in 1740 when war came first to Pennsylvania and embarrassed the Quakers who were in control of the assembly. Up to that time it had been hopeless to challenge the Quaker oligarchy, but at this point the unwillingness of the Quakers to prepare for defense promised to give the long-sought-for opportunity to break the deadlock. Furthermore it was well known that with the increasing immigration the Quakers had lost their numerically dominant position. This situation gave rise to the first real political campaign in Pennsylvania in which two parties had to address themselves to the electorate, asking them to endorse their "ticket",⁷ since neither of the two parties could rely on election returns which followed previous arrangements at a Yearly Meeting. To the individual layman this was as great a boon as Gilbert Tennent's revival sermon had been a few months earlier. At that time he had been called upon to follow his own judgment with regard to converted and unconverted ministers; now he was asked to decide which of the two political parties deserved his support in an open contest. Revival and campaign were equally controversial and were accompanied by equal fervor.⁸

⁷ In a letter to Thomas Penn (October, 1741) Richard Peters introduces the word "ticket" and explains it thoroughly; this indicates that the word as well as the institution must have been new at that time. And, indeed, a ticket became a necessity only when the nomination of candidates became a matter of public bargaining.

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

⁸ In a letter to Thomas Penn (November 1, 1742) Richard Hockley gives a vivid account of the campaign of 1742:

... on the day of the Election a great number of Dutch appeared for the Quakers, said not to be properly qualified, they carried all Inspectors to a man, upon this a number of Sailors in all I believe sixty came up to the market street with clubbs in their hands knocked down all that stood in their way or did not fly before them and blood flew plentifully ... the sailors crying out Down with the plain Coats and Broad Brims . . . Mr. Allen would have certainly gott into the house, had

This election was won by the Quakers with the help of the German sectarians. And ever after that campaign, the political role of the Pennsylvania Germans was a much debated point. To Pennsylvania politicians, first of all to those who did not profit from the German vote, the rising tide of German immigration in the 1740's and 1750's seemed to be a threat to British civilization as well as to British liberties.⁹ The concern about this threat grew among these politicians to the extent to which they were frustrated in their attempts to influence the Germans by means of the press or through educational schemes.¹⁰ Since the Germans lived mostly in the back country and were concentrated in certain areas, it was understandable that plans were made to gerrymander them out of their voting rights by establishing new counties containing most of the German population and granting only a very limited number of representatives to these counties.¹¹ In this respect the intentions of the Proprietary party, which was most annoyed at the constant support that the Germans gave to the Quaker party, were in consonance with the conservatism of the Quaker party, which had followed the policy of resisting an extension of the franchise to those areas outside the rural areas settled originally by the Quakers.¹² The areas against which the Quakers discriminated were therefore the city and the back-country. Consequently an alliance against the Quaker party was likely to be based on the city and back-country support. But the restricted representation of these areas

this affair not happened . . . Benjamin Shoemaker said numbers came and altered their tickets in his house and Robert Moore told me above 300 tickets had his [Allen's] name dashed out in his shop . . . Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

⁹ See Appendix No. 14, 16.

¹⁰ See Glenn Weaver, "Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV (October, 1957), 536-559.

¹¹ See Appendix No. 13.

¹² See Lehman, *op. cit.*, p. 34 ff. By 1760 Bucks and Chester counties were vastly overrepresented in the assembly while Berks, Lancaster and York counties as well as Philadelphia City were underrepresented.

in the assembly did not promise an opportunity for fundamental change. Thus gerrymandering combined with a restriction of the franchise of the new counties was carried out almost as a bipartisan measure, since the Proprietary party wanted to curb the German support of the Quakers while the Quakers wanted to perpetuate the predominance of the old Quaker counties. The resulting deadlock became the cause of an increase in extra-parliamentary agitation in these bottled-up counties. The most important incidents of this agitation were the Paxton Riots and the ensuing march on Philadelphia in 1764.¹³

It is understandable that, because of this constellation of political affairs, Pennsylvania politics was greatly influenced by the recurrent threat of war, which became of even greater consequence as it came nearer to the back-country frontier. As long as war remained only a threat and as long as it concerned mainly the coastline and the defense along the Delaware River, not much political advantage could be derived from this threat by the Proprietary party because the areas concerned were safely under Quaker control. But as soon as actual war started on the frontier, the mood of the non-Quaker back-country population could be directed against the Quakers. Therefore the wars of 1741 and 1747-48 affected Pennsylvania politics only in passing, while the wars of 1756-57 and Pontiac's Rebellion of 1763 became instances of real political change.

In the years between the wars Pennsylvania politics usually quieted down to a considerable degree. Political emotions were at a particularly low ebb in the years 1745, 1754, 1762, and again in 1767.¹⁴ Only the routine "cat and mouse play" with

¹³ The Paxton riots were credited to the frontier Presbyterians; see Chapter VI, note 41.

¹⁴ In 1745 Governor Thomas wrote to Thomas Penn:

"The province is now in a state of Tranquility beyond what has been known by the oldest in it . . ."

Penn Official Correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

In 1754 there was a lull before the storm caused by Smith's publication

the governor remained in such years of calmness and comfort the pastime of the assembly. As Proprietaries the Penn family nominally held the governorship and appointed lieutenant governors as their representatives in Pennsylvania. As territorial lords the Penns felt that they should be exempt from paying taxes in their own province, and they bound their lieutenant governors to veto all attempts of the assembly to levy a tax on the proprietary estates.¹⁵ In defense of this measure they also pointed out that most of their vast estates were not under cultivation. The assembly, on the other hand, maintained that the proprietaries should contribute their share to the budget of the province since every improvement of the province increased the value of their landholdings. The lieutenant governor was caught on the horns of a dilemma: if he broke his pledge to the Penns he lost his job, and in addition he forfeited any bonds that the Penns had made him sign before appointing him. If he did not do the will of the assembly, he did not get his salary which the assembly had to grant. As a consequence, lieutenant governors did not last long in Pennsylvania; usually they left the province disillusioned within a few years. The political leadership as well as the control of the patronage was therefore in the hands of local bosses rather than at the disposal of the transient lieutenant governor. The continuity of governmental policies rested on the

"The State of the Province," Braddock's defeat, etc.

In 1762 James Pemberton wrote to Dr. John Fothergill:

"Our annual election . . . was the smallest in the County that has been known for seventy years, not being above a fifth part of the usual number of the electors . . ."

Pemberton-Fothergill correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

In 1767 William Allen wrote to Thomas Penn:

"Our elections are now over and have been carried without heat . . . Upon the whole less contention and animosity subsists than usual, and we are at present in a profound calm . . ."

Penn official Correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

¹⁵ See Isaac Sharpless, *Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania* (New York: Macmillan, 1919), II, 16.

secretary of the proprietaries, who was in office for decades.¹⁶

To the proprietaries the province of Pennsylvania was, for a long time, a rather dubious asset. They had no longer the spiritual interest in this colony which had motivated their father to establish it as a place of refuge. However, they tried to continue the peaceful land policy of William Penn, which meant that they had to acquire the land in the bounds of their original royal grant gradually from the Indians rather than pushing the Indians from the soil by force.¹⁷ The expenses involved in this procedure were relatively low when compared to the value acquired. Furthermore a peaceful bargaining with the Indians guaranteed peace on the frontier, which in turn made the colony more attractive for settlers and prospective buyers of land. Thus the policy of the proprietaries was both wise and profitable from a long range point of view. On the other hand, the difficulty of recovering quit rents, the constant attempt of the assembly to tax the proprietary estates, the land speculations of their own officers, and the growing need for ever more land purchases from the Indians as impatient settlers pushed the frontier westward, made the task of the proprietaries rather troublesome.¹⁸

These problems grew to the extent to which Pennsylvania changed its role as a part of the British empire. At the time when Penn founded the colony, Pennsylvania was an outpost in an unknown wilderness. The general concept of the American colonies was rather hazy in Old England almost to the end of

¹⁶ Richard Peters served as Secretary of the Proprietaries from 1741 to 1762.

¹⁷ See the map of Pennsylvania land purchases in Anthony Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), p. 179.

¹⁸ See Paul Wallace, *Conrad Weiser* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945) on Weiser's and Peter's expedition to evict squatters from unpurchased Indian land.

the rule of the benevolent Robert Walpole. As late as 1739 great parliamentarians referred to these colonies in smug ignorance as the "island".¹⁹ If it had not been for the French challenge, the British might never have consolidated their empire. Britain's asset was neither political farsightedness nor efficient government administration but rather the nonconformism and enterprising spirit of its traders, the perseverance of its dissenters, and the tolerance and mediocrity of its kings.

The vision of empire came to the British only as flashes of insight; and the formidable Pitt, who was a born empire builder lacked the skills of a party politician. He insisted that political power should be handed to him on a platter for ready use, and he was simply incapable of slowly building up domestic support for his foreign policy since both his arrogance and his single-mindedness prevented him from imitating or cultivating political bosses such as the Duke of Newcastle.²⁰

For these reasons British imperial policy was sketchy and lacked both continuity and a definite sense of purpose. After the defeat of the French in the American colonies, this state of affairs expressed itself in the form of increased land speculation, intercolonial rivalry, and a refusal to share the burden of imperial policy with the mother country. Land companies from Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Virginia vied with each other for the access to the promising areas in the west, first of all in the Ohio Valley, which had been thrown open after the French were

¹⁹ In 1749 Charles Norris wrote from London to Isaac Norris II: (regarding the American questions and the paper currency, etc.) "I was in the House (of Commons) at one hearing and was very much surprised to find so many noted speakers say so much on a subject which they understood so little. But indeed some at least confessed they were ashamed to find themselves so ignorant in the States of the American Colonys, either H. Pellam or H. Walpool . . . called the Colonys the Island . . ."

Norris Papers, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

²⁰ See G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1954), III, 57 ff.

forced to recede.²¹ Although the colonies were jealous of each other, they were united in their refusal to share the loot with the British government. In its first attempts to get the empire organized and to solicit contributions for its maintenance from all its parts, the British government, to its own misfortune, struck upon measures that finally blew the empire apart.²² The wisdom of "divide and rule" which later became so typical of British imperialism was absent in its early phase. By adopting measures which applied uniformly to all colonies and which were felt by the great mass of the population, the British government unwittingly laid the foundation for a future United States of America and paved the way for secession. The united insistence on "No taxation without representation" was produced only by the imposition of uniform and direct taxes.

The avid land speculations of the colonies and the growing rate of the expansion of white settlements aroused apprehensions in the minds of the Indians. On the whole the British had been extremely fortunate. In spite of their (with a few exceptions) reckless treatment of the Indians, they had not faced a total war with them in the early stages of colonization. This was chiefly due to the fact that the mighty Iroquois federation was firmly attached to the British interest since early attempts at an alliance of Iroquois and French had been rebuffed by the French.²³ The Iroquois controlled, in a special form of suzerainty, almost all the tribes of North-eastern America. Through the interpreter Conrad Weiser, who was also a member of the Iroquois council,

²¹ The Virginia and Pennsylvania land companies were rivals in the Ohio valley; the Connecticut land company extended its claims southward and infringed upon Pennsylvania territory. See A. Wallace, *Teedyuscung, op. cit.*, p. 224.

²² See Winfred T. Root, *The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696-1765* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1912), p. 335 ff., on "Imperial Centralization."

²³ See Paul A. Wallace, *The White Roots of Peace* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946), p. 49.

Pennsylvania had established particularly good relations with the Iroquois.²⁴ Furthermore, because of the considerate Indian policy of William Penn, the local Delaware Indians, who were under the suzerainty of the Iroquois, were on good terms with the Pennsylvania authorities.²⁵ However, in the sixteen years preceding the French and Indian War the Pennsylvania authorities advised by Conrad Weiser had come to rely more and more on the Iroquois Council, while at the same time the control of the different tribes slipped, gradually, out of the hands of the Iroquois Council and the French influence among the Delawares increased. This development was accelerated after the death of the mighty Iroquois chief Canasetego in 1750 and the death of the Iroquois regent in Pennsylvania, Shikelamy, in 1748.²⁶ The relationship between the domineering Iroquois and the conquered Delawares had always been a precarious one; thus when the Iroquois lost strong leadership and the general apprehensions of the Indians with regard to the white man's expansion grew, the Delawares and other tribes were ready to play off the French against the British and vice versa in a risky game of mutual deterrence.²⁷ In this way they hoped to preserve their

²⁴ See P. Wallace, *Weiser, op. cit.*

Weiser had grown up near the Mohawk settlements in New York province. He became valuable to the governments of Pennsylvania and Virginia because he could talk to the Iroquois in the Mohawk language, was a member of the Iroquois Council, and a good friend of the Iroquois viceroy Shikelamy at Shamokin, Pa. His contacts with the Delawares were slight and perfunctory.

²⁵ The so-called Walking Purchase, however, disturbed these relations in 1737. The government of Pennsylvania suppressed the complaints of the Delawares with the assistance of the Iroquois overlords. See A. Wallace, *Teedyuscung, op. cit.*, p. 23 f.

²⁶ See P. Wallace, *Weiser, op. cit.*

²⁷ The Indians had become very apprehensive of being squeezed out of their hunting grounds, consequently all kinds of schemes were afoot to avert the further progress of the white man; William Peters communicates a message given by the Indian trader G. Croghan (Jan. 12, 1756 to Th. Penn):

hunting grounds in between the two fronts. As a result the Pennsylvanians had to deal for several years with the bragging but shrewd Delaware spokesman Teedyuscung, who called himself king of ten tribes and throve on Pennsylvania's endeavors to make amends for its long neglect of the Delawares, caused by too great a reliance on the Iroquois.²⁸

The birth pangs of the British empire, whether they were manifest in the form of the French and Indian Wars or the Stamp Act, were equally obnoxious to all colonists. However, the Pennsylvanians were placed in a somewhat special position: at the time when other colonies became increasingly unhappy about their royal government, the Quaker party of Pennsylvania had started a campaign to put this colony under royal rather than proprietary government; and the Quakers were therefore obliged "to do the king's business".²⁹ Under the impact of the unpopular measures of the British government the proprietary cause was suddenly transformed into a popular one, a fact which gave Pennsylvania politics, on the eve of the Revolution, an additional peculiar facet.

All these developments in their very peculiarity nevertheless contributed to the general growth of political awareness in Pennsylvania. The diversity of issues and events furthermore trained the Pennsylvanians to switch their attention readily from one

"... Onandoga Council was not pleased with the English settling lands so far back . . . they communicated a scheme to the Delawares, Shawnees, Munsies, and Naticockes for that purpose and promised on their good behaviour to incorporate them with the six nations. The part they were to act was to fall on the back inhabitants of this province and drive them off as far as the South Mountains."

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

²⁸ See A. Wallace, *Teedyuscung*, *op. cit.*, p. 152 ff.

²⁹ Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, June 3, 1756:

"The Quakers they say are obliged by the Contract pending for them in London to do the King's Business and they will do it in my opinion . . ."

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

political controversy to the other. People who had helped to throw ministers out of churches and had participated in mass revivals were soon eager at the polls and as participants of political rallies. Men who could hold their own on the vestry soon found their way into the assembly. Pamphleteers and printers who had learned to produce religious tracts on controversial issues were well prepared to try their skills in political campaigns as well. Consequently Pennsylvania's political problems found as vivid an audience as its religious controversies. In fact religious controversies and political problems were blended in a unique pattern of interaction. Groups and their leaders were committed in various ways and viewed each other in terms of religious preference as well as in perspectives of political partisanship.

VI

PATTERNS OF LEADERSHIP

THE KIND OF leadership which Pennsylvania developed in the period from 1740 to 1770 was rather diversified, and it changed from decade to decade. In the heated controversies of Pennsylvania politics the leaders of different groups became more generally known to the public. Isolation gave way to interaction; and pamphleteers and newspaper publishers, as well as political campaigners, could count on an ever-widening audience beyond their particular sect or ethnic group. In short, this period of thirty years saw the development of that entity which is generally referred to as "the public", a being which has an opinion and interest and which can grant the favor of "publicity" to anybody who deserves it. Consequently sectarian leaders, ministers, and politically interested merchants, who had been influential in their own religious and business circles, tended to become "public" figures in the generation before the Revolution. Equally, sectarian politicians who had been satisfied with controlling their own group, because this was sufficient as far as their intentions were concerned, had to rely increasingly on support outside their own group; and therefore they had to seek publicity whether they wanted it or not.

The era of publicity was especially new and, at first, embarrassing to the Quaker leaders. They were used to arriving at political

decisions by quietly influencing "the sense of the meeting", and as the Yearly Meeting went, so went the province. However, from 1740 onward this convenient rule no longer applied; and the Quaker leaders had to rely on the support of leaders and opinion makers among the German sectarians in order to win the necessary political support. But even this limited publicity became insufficient in the 1750's when the spokesmen of their adversaries provoked the Quakers by exaggerated accounts of Quaker rule to step down into the arena for an open fight.¹

It is understandable that in the course of this development a different kind of leadership came to the fore in the Quaker party. This change became evident with the death of John Kinsey.² Unique as lawyer, political boss, and religious leader, Kinsey was a phenomenon of the first decade of transition from Quaker oligarchy to a more open political system. However he did not have less power but rather more than any other Quaker politician before him. He not only had "the sense of the meeting", but he also controlled the assembly as its speaker and the judiciary as chief justice; in addition to this he conducted the Loan Office of the province as if it were his private bank.³ This

¹ See William Smith, *A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania in which the Conduct of their Assemblies for several years past is impartially examined . . .* (London: Griffith, 1755).

² John Kinsey, Speaker of the Assembly, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, died in 1750.

³ Governor Hamilton to Thomas Penn about John Kinsey, Nov. 18, 1750:

The Chief Justice encouraged the removing all Cases however circumstanced even from our Special Courts which were erected purely for dispatch and Warrants under Forty Shillings from the Judgment of the Magistrates; He made original orders about Roads, though that power is expressly vested in the Quarter Sessions, and encouraged the lawyers to bring original process in the Supreme Court, intirely against the intention of the law, and a vote of the Assembly explanatory of it. This was actually done the Term before he died [he would have] compelled me to differ with him, which perhaps might have been part of his scheme for he was sensible he

power monopoly he had not attained as a popular demagogue but rather by diplomatic skill. At a time when his party saw the reins of uncontested leadership slip out of its hands, he saved it by personally acquiring as much political power as he could get. He did this by virtue of his personal qualifications as a lawyer, through his position as a weighty Friend and his knowledge of the political structure of the province. As long as he lived he could stave off a large-scale public discussion of Quaker politics and continue the tradition of quiet diplomacy. But when he died, even the Quakers fell out with each other in a debate regarding his policies. A deficit in the Loan Office, which was discovered after Kinsey's death, necessitated this debate.⁴ From this time onward Quaker leadership was divided: Israel Pemberton leading the religious Friends, and Isaac Norris II, the successor to Kinsey as speaker of the assembly, leading the secular Friends, who were ready to compromise on matters of conscience in order to maintain their political power. This dissension in Quaker circles tended to contribute to a greater publicity of political developments; and although Friends for the

had lost much of his importance in a time of security . . . Had he also succeeded in his attempt to bring the Judgment of last Wills etc., into his Court, he would have sat absolute Dictator over the fortunes of all the People in the Province for he was used to boast to his Friends that his commission was not determinable at Pleasure . . .

See also Appendix No. 14 (Penn official Correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.)

⁴ Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Sept 1753, on the deficit found in the Loan Office:

Israel Pemberton and others petitioned that this or a great part of it might be abated on account of Mr. Kinsey's great services . . . but the Speaker [Isaac Norris] fired away and placed matters in such a light that they withdrew their petition not caring to stand the vote of the house and it is said that Isaac has lost by his freedom with John's character—much ground with friends. Wou[l]d you believe it there is hardly one word said of this vile Transaction in the whole Province and it is hushed with all the care imaginable.

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

most part scrupulously refrained from openly censuring and attacking other Friends, differences of opinion became known to the public.

In the meantime leadership had grown rapidly in many groups outside the Quaker circle among the church people and first of all among liberals who no longer followed the general line of their religious groups. The leadership among the church people gathered strength from the increase in church membership and the consolidation of church organizations, whereas the liberal leadership gained influence and publicity by promoting civic improvements which were in the public interest. The outstanding liberal leader was Benjamin Franklin who, so to speak, carefully built himself up over a period of two decades. In keeping with the trend of the time, he made his career as a publicity expert. The ascendancy of the public was also the rise of Benjamin Franklin. Having no status in any particular group, he could only profit from the breakdown of group control and a diversification of the political structure of Pennsylvania. However, he very early realized that this breakdown could be much better promoted by cooperation in civic projects which could not be objected to by any one group, rather than by an assault on any strongholds. Following this line he knew how to ingratiate himself with everybody and to keep his real political stand a matter of guesswork.⁵ Up to 1755, one year before he openly cast his lot with the rapidly changing Quaker party, even the

⁵ Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Summer, 1752:

"Mr. Franklyn . . . is naturally very modest and thinks it too soon to open as he is but a new member though an old Clerk [of the Assembly]. He and Mr. Coleman have qualified as Magistrates and this must thro' him into the opposite seats as he will most certainly be opposed by the people and soon perceive the Taints of popular breath." Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

The position of a Magistrate was, however, soon surrendered by Franklin, who excused himself by his "being obliged to attend the higher duties of a legislator in the Assembly;" see B. Franklin, *Autobiography* (New York: The Pocket Library, 1954), p. 149.

shrewd William Smith did not know where to place Franklin.⁶ When he finally took sides, he did so at a time when he could attain immediately top-ranking leadership in the party of his choice. As long as Kinsey ruled, Franklin did not have much of a chance to attain political leadership. In those years he ingratiated himself with the Quakers by organizing defence on a voluntary basis without making a Proprietary issue out of it. The organization of a new Pennsylvania wagon supply line for General Braddock made Franklin popular with the thrifty Germans who could profit as non-combatants from this service done to the British army.⁷ The relationship with the Germans however had always been Franklin's weak point. His attempt to gain access to the German public by way of a German language paper had been in vain.⁸ The Braddock expedition proved to be a better opportunity. With the professional men and the ministry, Franklin had created a good impression by his educational enterprises and his scientific experiments which brought him fame "at home".

Pennsylvania politics, however, were not the only pre-occupation of Franklin. As postmaster general, organizing a network of communication for all American colonies, he was one of the few Americans who had had a glimpse of the potentialities of the American colonies, if they could only be persuaded to cooperate. This insight gave him the advantage of being one of the very few farsighted British imperialists. His plans for a "Greater Britain", however, were far too advanced, as was his early plan of union for the American colonies.⁹ As a prac-

⁶ See William Smith to Thomas Penn, 1755 [no date on letter]: "I can neither learn nor conjecture what he [Franklin] means."

⁷ See Appendix No. 19.

⁸ See Glenn Weaver, "Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV (October, 1957), 536-559.

⁹ Franklin's general ideas, as they appear in his "Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind and the Peopling of Countries" (1751), his Plan of Union (1754) and his Plan for Settling two Western Colonies

tical politician he had the wisdom to refrain from forcing his ideas on the unprepared minds of his compatriots. He chose rather to use the tendencies of his political environment, making them subservient to his more far-flung ideas. Thus he seized upon the Quaker drive to put Pennsylvania under royal government. Since his Plan of Union proposed at Albany in 1754 had failed, he realized that the only hope for American unification was the uniform control of America by a royal government. If there were no enlightened imperialists in America, he hoped to find them in England. However during an extended stay in England he soon found out that enlightened imperialism was absent from England too.

Franklin's most important endeavors outside the field of journalism had been concerned with education. It was in this field that he himself paved the way for one of his most colorful and ambitious political rivals. William Smith,¹⁰ the talented educator and acrimonious pamphleteer, came to Philadelphia in order to take charge of the College which Franklin had helped to establish. He was an Anglican minister, but he did not gain his reputation as a popular pastor.¹¹ His interests were far more secular, and his ideas of education were far ahead of his time.¹²

in North America . . . (1754-56), can be summarized in the following terms (1) England would not lose by emigration while her Colonies would profit from the immigration of British rather than other settlers, the remaining population in England would soon multiply and thus fill the gap at home; (2) the American colonies should be unified, a governor general should be appointed, thus giving America a kind of Dominion status; (3) the vacuum in the Ohio valley should be filled by means of planned settlement, lest the French might fill the vacuum. The central argument of Franklin was that people increase "in proportion to their rooms and means of subsistence."

¹⁰ See Albert P. Gegenheimer, *William Smith, Educator and Churchman* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943).

¹¹ See William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, Vol. II: Pennsylvania* (Hartford: The Church Press, 1871), 419.

¹² See Appendix No. 21.

But he was not content with elaborating progressive curricula and teaching intelligent and ambitious young students, because he saw his college as an institution in a wider context. While Franklin had chiefly thought of the "promotion of useful knowledge", Smith saw the wider implications of college education. He knew that a college needs for its growth a steady supply of high school graduates and adequate professional opportunities for its own graduates. Academic education in Europe as he knew it was an integral part of the establishment. American education therefore had to be part of an American establishment, and Smith set out to work for it. As Franklin had the vision of a new empire, so Smith dreamed of an American establishment, connected with but equal to the establishment "at home". To some extent Franklin's and Smith's plans were supplementary, and they indeed collaborated for a while. The Charity School Movement, which was designed to integrate the Germans into the new imperial society, was a scheme with which the ideas of these two leaders were perfectly compatible.¹³ But in the crucial year 1756 they found each other on opposite sides for similar reasons. Both of them were looking for political alignments which would serve their own plans. Franklin staked his political fortune on the Quaker party, and Smith dedicated himself to the Proprietary cause. As later events proved, Franklin had been luckier in his choice because he could achieve a good amount of control over his party while Smith, with his plans for an American bishopric, alienated the powerful Presbyterians who were the hard core of the party which he had chosen.

The man who saw most clearly through the schemes of Franklin and Smith without, however, appreciating their general

¹³ For a general description of the Charity School scheme see Samuel W. Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Campbell, 1905).

ideas, was the German publisher Christopher Sauer.¹⁴ Not being a Briton by birth, he naturally cherished no dreams of a British empire nor a British establishment, but rather tried to preserve and defend the old Philadelphian ideas which had been in the mind of Penn. He was a self-educated man of high talents and edited a German newspaper which was in many respects superior even to Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*. He was not only interested in world wide news but also in the political education of his readers.¹⁵ While Franklin had failed to get access to the German population, Sauer succeeded in an amazing fashion. His nonconformism, his biting comments, his practical advice, attracted readers of different backgrounds. The copious political information contained in his publications introduced the Germans to the British legal system and to the political institutions and movements in their new home country. He incessantly admonished them to take out naturalization papers and to make use of their political rights in order to preserve their newly gained freedom. In times of crisis he spoke for the Germans and pointed with a certain pride to the responsibility which he felt towards his countrymen, since, as he maintained, thousands of them had crossed the ocean because they had read his accounts of Pennsylvania which were widely circulated in Germany.¹⁶

¹⁴ Christopher Sauer, 1694-1758, born in the Palatinate, associated with the Separatists in the principality of Wittgenstein, came to Pennsylvania in 1724, built a printing press and imported type from Germany, began to publish a German Almanac and a German newspaper in 1739. See "William R. Steckel, *Pietiest in Colonial Pennsylvania: Christopher Sauer, Printer*," Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1949.

¹⁵ In his first Almanac (1739), for instance, Sauer instructed his countrymen about the sessions of different law courts in Pennsylvania as well as in places as far distant as Connecticut. He gave the dates of the sessions and comments on the jurisdiction of these courts. In later years he never failed to admonish the Germans to take out naturalization papers, and to vote.

¹⁶ Christopher Sauer to Governor R. H. Morris, March 15, 1755:

"... I wrote largely to all my friends and acquaintances of the Civil and religious Liberties, Privileges and of all the Goodness I have heard

Sauer strongly opposed higher education as well as the attempts to introduce charity schools for the German children. This did not imply that he was averse to learning, since he was a very well-read man himself. He rather had a deeply ingrained suspicion of educational institutions as the strongholds of a new establishment.¹⁷ And he thought that the schemes of Franklin and Smith were aimed toward such a new establishment in which the clergy and the military would again attain a privileged place and subvert the precious freedom of the province.¹⁸ In airing these apprehensions, Sauer instilled a political consciousness into the Germans, who were not used to asserting their political will and might well have lost their liberties before they were even aware of having them—at least this was the way Sauer saw it. Sauer thus created a public opinion among the Germans and propagated ideas which, though arising in a different situation, were very similar to the concept of inalienable rights which became so prominent in the American Revolution. Sauer put forth these ideas with a sense of urgency because he knew that these inalienable rights could not be taken for granted and had to be protected with great vigilance.

Against the formidable Sauer, Franklin and Smith found allies in the German ministers Muhlenberg¹⁹ and Schlatter.²⁰

and seen, and my letter was printed, re- and reprinted and provoked many a thousand people to come to this Province and many thanked the Lord for it, and desired their friends also again to come here . . .”
Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pa., Abraham Cassel Collection.

The letter from which this quotation is taken has also been published by Martin G. Brumbaugh, *History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America* (Mount Morris: Brethren Publishing House, 1899), p. 377. Brumbaugh wrongly assumes that the letter was addressed to Governor Denny; the governor in office in 1755 was, however, R. H. Morris.

¹⁷ See Chapter III, note 46.

¹⁸ See Appendix No. 20.

¹⁹ Henry Melchior Muehlenberg, born 1711, studied at Goettingen and Halle, ordained in Leipzig, came to Pennsylvania in 1742. His charge included Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence. He settled at Providence; in 1745 he married Conrad Weiser's daughter. In 1761 he

Muhlenberg had become, very early in his American career, a shrewd manipulator. Like Franklin he had learned the indirect approach to public relations. This indirect approach can be described in the following way: Propagate your plans by putting them into other people's heads rather than making them feel that you have a smart idea which you want to impose upon them. Do not contradict anybody but arrange matters in such a way that he will find out for himself that he is wrong. Avoid being put on the spot by somebody who wants you to commit yourself in any way at a time when it is neither necessary nor convenient to take a stand.²¹ These simple rules that were learned and tested in numerous situations helped both Franklin and Muhlenberg to attain enormous influence although they had no privilege or position to begin with. Schlatter, however, was not sufficiently trained in this technique and therefore became a victim of political developments. While the cautious Muhlenberg participated in the Charity School scheme, getting only the best out of it and avoiding the political repercussions,

moved to Philadelphia after having served as a pastor in New York for a short period of time. From the time of the establishment of the Lutheran Synod in 1748, he was its president for many terms.

²⁰ Michael Schlatter, 1716-1790, studied at St. Gall and Helmstedt, was sent to Pennsylvania by the Classis of Amsterdam in 1746, established the Reformed Coetus in 1747, went back to Europe in 1750 in order to report to the Classis, to collect money for the Charity School Movement, and to recruit ministers for the Reformed Church in America. He became royal chaplain in 1757 and accompanied the British army in Nova Scotia. After returning to Philadelphia he lived in retirement. See also H. Harbaugh, *The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter* (Philadelphia: Lindsay, 1857).

²¹ See Franklin, *Autobiography*, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 114:

I made a rule to forbear all direct contradiction to others and all positive assertions of my own. I even forbid myself agreeable to the old laws of our Junto, the use of every word or expression in the language that imported a fix'd opinion, such as *certainly*, *undoubtedly*, etc., and I adopted instead of them, *I conceive*, *I apprehend* or *I imagine* a thing to be so or so; or *it so appears to me at present . . .* to this my habit . . . I think it principally owing that I had early so much weight with my fellow citizen . . .

Schlatter was used as the front man for the whole scheme and fell completely into the hands of Smith. While Schlatter collected a good deal of money for the scheme and traveled through the country to supervise its implementation, Smith controlled the funds.²² When the scheme failed because of the resistance of the German population, Schlatter had to bear the brunt of the attack and was finally dropped even by his own colleagues of the German Reformed Ministry.²³ Thus, while Muhlenberg's and Franklin's careers became models of success, Schlatter's is the most dramatic case of political failure. His drive and energy, his talent of organization, all these assets turned against him because they were not accompanied by caution. Unaware of the indirect approach he tried to provide direct leadership, only to find himself indirectly led by others and directly despised by many. His German countrymen resented most that he had depicted them as potential rebels who needed proper guidance. This insult to the average layman was an unforgivable sin; it smacked of the arrogance of the clergy. Sauer did not miss the opportunity to drive this point home.²⁴

²² See Appendix No. 19.

²³ No full account of the final downfall of Schlatter is available. Harbaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 311 ff., writes about "an unfortunate difficulty . . . which evidently arose out of mere misunderstandings." The leader of the opposition to Schlatter was Pastor Stoy, who wrote to the Classis as the spokesman of the Special Coetus of 1755: "We grieve that some of us, through our great love for Mr. Schlatter, were not cautious enough, and suffered him to abuse our simplicity and good intentions." In the same letter Stoy calls the Charity Schools "purely a political matter." See *Minutes of the Coetus, op. cit.*, pp. 134, 138. From this letter it seems fair to conclude that Schlatter had got between the devil and the deep sea (i.e. William Smith and William Stoy) and that the Reformed clergy considered itself abused by Smith and thus also by Schlatter.

²⁴ For Schlatter's statements see Appendix No. 12. Sauer wrote in *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, September 1, 1754: "If Schlatter had described the Germans as such rascals that might treacherously join with the French in times of war, then he has acted rather foolishly and to his own and the King's detriment."

With the downfall of Schlatter another attempt at gaining an access to the German population had failed, to the disadvantage of those political leaders of the English population who did not belong to the Quaker party. For William Smith these attempts ended with a rather strange interlude. The assembly, dominated by the Quaker party, put him in jail for publishing some of his invectives in a German translation in the newspaper which he had published for the Charity School movement. In the meantime Franklin had arrived in England, now being the trusted representative of the Quaker party. The account of Smith's fate embarrassed him at a time when he intended to petition for royal government for Pennsylvania, but he defended the action of the assembly on the grounds that the Pennsylvania legislature could claim the same privilege as the British Parliament of declaring itself a law court under special circumstances.²⁵

The war years of 1756-57, in which Franklin became the champion of the Quaker party while Smith was thrown into prison, were in more than one respect a pivotal point for the patterns of leadership in Pennsylvania politics. The split between religious and political Quakers became known to all. The pacifist Quakers resigned their seats in the assembly and did not stand for re-election.²⁶ Their places were filled by liberal church-

²⁵ Fred. John Paris to Richard Peters, April 10, 1758, (from London): Mr. Franklin has instructed his Counsel to speak his usual language and to put the whole upon this single point that the Assembly has as full powers as the House of Commons . . .

I have an opportunity sometimes of learning Mr. Franklin's Declarations and am well informed, that he is very uneasy at the Assembly's taking this most extravagant step as it is a Matter that makes a good deal of Noise here and puts the Assembly's unwarrantable stretches of power into a most obvious and glaring light . . . People . . . are ten times more prejudiced against the Assembly's Proceedings than at his first arrival here.

Peters Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²⁶ James Pemberton to Samuel Fothergill, 11th Month, 1756:

The business . . . of resigning in the assembly was completed pretty readily though afterwards much disapproved by Governor Morris and

men who had collaborated with Franklin for a long time.²⁷ Thus Franklin not only personally became a leader of the changing Quaker party but also introduced a new element into it which secured him even greater influence. On the other hand the religious Quakers established at that time two institutions which enabled them to provide vigorous leadership for all like-minded people: The Meeting for Sufferings and the Friendly Association for the Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians.²⁸ The first institution served as a kind of central committee, meeting rather frequently in Philadelphia and including the most influential and weighty Friends. The second organization, though not at all officially linked with the first, was nevertheless closely connected with it because of the fact that both institutions were controlled by the same people.²⁹ The necessities of the day made these Quakers cooperate even more closely with the German sectarians. Fund-raising for the Friendly

his friends when they found our successors were such as did not answer their purpose . . .

. . . in this county of Eight members of the House [there are] two called Quakers . . . [of] the whole of the 36 members who make up the house there were 12 under the name of Quakers and our adversaries returned them 16—J. H[unt] and C. W[ilson] arrived five days after the election . . . it was agreed to be most proper that these Friends should have an opportunity of conferring with all the members chosen at the late election who went under our name . . . most of them came and much pains was taken to convince them of the expediency of their declining to take their Seats to which some of them readily assented and the first was old Peter Dicks and Maylon Kirktride[?] who and two others one from Bucks County and another from Chester which were all that could be prevailed with to shake off their Raggs of Imaginary honour . . .

²⁷ See Appendix No. 24—26.

²⁸ The Meeting for Sufferings was established in 1756 according to the suggestion of London Friends. It was a kind of executive committee and consisted of four delegates nominated by each of the six Quarterly Meetings (total 24). The Friendly Association was a voluntary, unofficial enterprise of individual friends.

²⁹ The Pemberton brothers, Isaac Zane, and Joshua Morris were active leaders in both organizations.

Association was rather successful, and the German sectarians contributed freely.³⁰

The fact that ten Quaker leaders resigned their seats in the assembly in 1756 has often been interpreted as an abdication of the Quakers from political power; however, it can be said that Quaker leadership was invigorated rather than weakened by the events in these war years. The Quaker leadership split, but in later years this split was healed and the religious and the secular wings of the Quaker party cooperated again. This became manifest when the energetic James Pemberton had himself re-elected to the assembly in 1765 after nine years' absence from this body.³¹ In the intermediate years the secular wing of the party had branched out vigorously, securing the cooperation of other secular leaders; the religious wing worked equally carefully among the sectarians and conscientious objectors. Thus at the time of the reunification of the two wings the Quaker party seemed to be a more formidable phalanx than ever before. A good instance of this cooperation may be seen in the following case. In 1766 the leaders of the Schwenkfelders, a German sectarian group that had contributed greatly to the efforts of the Friendly Association, asked their friend Israel Pemberton for a testimony that Franklin, the champion of the secular wing of

³⁰ The sum total of the contributions from 1757 to 1763 was £4004. During the years 1762-1763 the Mennonites alone contributed £430. Account Book of the Friendly Association, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

³¹ See Isaac Sharpless, *Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania* (New York: Macmillan, 1919), II, 13. However, even before Pemberton had himself re-elected in order to "keep out an envious Presbyterian" the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings wrote (24, 3rd month, 1761):

The offers made by the Governors of Places in the Magistracy and the Inclination of the People in the Choice of their Representatives in the Legislature have tended to increase the Number of the Members of our Society in the Offices of Government and the Plea of the Law being made by a Majority of those of other Religious Professions cannot now be used in Pennsylvania with so much Truth and Justice as it hath been for three or four years past . . .

Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, Friends Record Office.

the Quaker party, could still be trusted. Pemberton then procured a written testimony certifying Franklin's good character from Dr. Fothergill, the leading Quaker in London. This certificate evidently reassured the Schwenkfelders, and they continued to support the Quaker party.³²

During these same years the changing Quaker society produced another leader who was to acquire great political fame but who was no longer influenced by old Quaker allegiances. This was the brilliant young lawyer John Dickinson,³³ son-in-law of Isaac Norris II. The problems that had set Isaac Norris and Israel Pemberton against each other were no longer his problems, and he developed a cool objectivity of judgment and clarity of thought which had been largely absent from earlier political life. His analysis of the political struggle for royal government pleased, by its objectivity, even the Proprietaries. Thomas Penn would have liked to attach this young man to his interest; and, but for the inveterate jealousy of the legal counsel for the Penns in Pennsylvania, Benjamin Chew, Dickinson might have found profitable employ with the Proprietaries.³⁴ Chew, however, held the legal monopoly that Kinsey

³² See Sharpless, *op. cit.*, p. 85. The Schwenkfelders under the leadership of Kaspar Kriebel evidently solicited a testimony from the Friends, whether Franklin had done everything he could do in the affair of the Stamp Act. On 7, 6th month, 1766 Israel Pemberton wrote to Dr. J. Fothergill: "Thy answer to the request of Caspar Kriber and others has been very satisfactory and acceptable . . ." On 8, 7th month, 1766 Pemberton wrote that he had forwarded to Caspar Kriber a copy of Hinton Brown's and Fothergill's reply. There are however no copies extant in the Schwenkfelder Library.

³³ John Dickinson, lawyer, son-in-law of Isaac Norris II, President of Pennsylvania.

See Sharpless, *op. cit.*, II, 94 ff.

³⁴ Thomas Penn to John Penn, December 7th, 1764:

I have read Mr. Dickinson's speech, the parts of it you mention are far from showing any regard to our Family, but the opposition to the Petition to the King was for the services of the Inhabitants of the Province and therefore has some merits with us . . . I hope you . . .

and Tench Francis had held before him; but he held it at a time when competition increased rapidly, and he was naturally apprehensive that younger and more brilliant men might find favor with the Penns.³⁵

The most vigorous defender of the Proprietary cause in Pennsylvania, however, was the great Presbyterian boss William Allen,³⁶ who enjoyed political influence for a longer time and to a greater extent than any other man in the province. This impetuous man had been on the political scene ever since the 1730's,³⁷ and he left it only at the time of the Revolution, when by some strange constellation of circumstances he had to flee as a Tory like his lifelong enemies the Pemberton brothers.³⁸ For several decades no Proprietary favor was obtained in Pennsylvania unless Allen approved of it.³⁹ He was an Old Side

will cultivate in him what good dispositions he may show . . . as we have not so great a number of Men able to assist Government that we can afford to lose the help of any one.

But on January 11th, 1765 Thomas Penn had to state:

"I am very sorry there is so irreconcilable a quarrel between him [Dickinson] and Mr. Chew, for they might be serviceable together to us."

Penn letter book, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³⁵ See Burton A. Konkle, *Benjamin Chew* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932).

³⁶ William Allen, industrialist, noted Presbyterian layman, boss of the Proprietary Party, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

³⁷ William Allen had been a member of the assembly very early. He wrote to Thomas Penn, November 17, 1739:

"I had served on the assembly these Nine years past, and as most our Disputes seem to be at an end and the Province Affairs upon a very good footing I choose to decline being concerned this year as no doubt you have heard Mr. Hamilton and several others of our Friends have done."

³⁸ Allen had sworn a special oath to the King when he became a Trustee of the College of Philadelphia.

³⁹ John Penn to Thomas Penn, March 17, 1764:

I must observe that many good People in this city have been much disgusted at the particular regard always paid to the Gentleman's [Allen's] recommendation to every office that fell vacant, in prejudice

Presbyterian and controlled the Scotch-Irish vote. In the later years of his career he was usually returned to the assembly through the votes of the frontier settlers in Cumberland County. He was also, outside the Quaker circle, one of the richest men in the province;⁴⁰ but unlike the Quaker merchants he based his wealth not so much on maritime trade as upon iron manufacture and land speculation. After the death of Kinsey he became Chief Justice of the province, although he had no legal training. His political fortune rose after the years of the French and Indian Wars, especially after the reunification of the Presbyterian church. He greatly contributed to an alliance of the city and back country protest against Quaker rule; and the Paxton riots were, by some of the Quakers, credited to his account.⁴¹ He was assisted by the political manager Samuel Purviance, who organized the 1764 and 1766 campaigns in the

to any pretentions they might have from their own merit and superior qualifications . . . I take him to be a very good man but too easily biased by his passions at the expense of his Judgment, and very open to flattery, fond of popularity, but mistaking the ends of attaining it.

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

⁴⁰ Allen's tax assessment, according to the tax record of 1767, was £1200. This was exceeded only by Israel Pemberton's assessment of about £1300, and the tentative assessment of the Proprietors of about £2000.

⁴¹ There were strong suspicions in Quaker circles that the Presbyterian party leaders had engineered the Paxton riots and the march of the rioters on Philadelphia. James Pemberton wrote to Dr. Fothergill on 7th, 3rd mo., 1764:

There are many Circumstances [that] concur to confirm the general suspicion that the scheme has been concerted by some and countenanced by others whose station in the government required a very different conduct . . . Letters from private persons the day before gave information they intended to enter the city on First Day morning about 11 o'clock that a number of them [the rioters] were to surround Friends meeting houses . . . it is to be noted that the Presbyterians had no worship at either of their houses that morning . . .

Pemberton Fothergill Correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

city;⁴² and in the country he could rely on such men as Colonel Armstrong and Colonel James Burd and the Shippens.⁴³ It was mostly because of Allen that the Proprietary cause became a Presbyterian cause. The marriage of his daughter with governor John Penn was quite appropriate.⁴⁴

In the early years, before the French and Indian Wars, Allen, Smith, and Franklin had collaborated. However, the great parade of the Free Masons in 1755 was perhaps the last occasion on which this harmony was openly demonstrated when Allen as Grand Master and Franklin as Deputy Grand Master marched solemnly through the city.⁴⁵ Ten years later these three leaders represented three rather incompatible movements, Franklin as a leader of the Quaker party, Smith striving for an American bishopric, and Allen promoting the cause of the Proprietaries and of the Presbyterians. Franklin was the political enemy of both Smith and Allen by that time, but on the other hand Allen as a Presbyterian was passionately against the establishment of an American bishopric and hoped that Smith's plan would be frustrated. Smith on the other hand viewed the

⁴² See Appendix No. 29, 30, 32.

⁴³ Colonel Burd, son-in-law of Edward Shippen Sr., lived at Lancaster and controlled a great part of the Presbyterian vote in Lancaster County. Colonel Armstrong lived in Cumberland County and controlled the Presbyterian vote there. William Allen was usually returned to the house as representative of Cumberland County in the 1760's because at that time there was no law which prohibited the electing of non-resident representatives. Armstrong ran Allen's campaign in that area. The Shippens had their estates near Lancaster; next to the Allens they were the most distinguished Presbyterian family of colonial Pennsylvania.

⁴⁴ Governor John Penn married Ann Allen on May 31, 1766.

⁴⁵ See David Fisher's *Diary of 1755* (printed in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XVII, 273):

. . . on St. John the Baptist Day there was the Greatest Procession of Free Masons to the Church and their Lodge in second street that was ever seen in America. No less than 160 being in the Procession . . . Mr. Allin, the Grand master, honouring them with his company, as did the Deputy Grand Master Mr. Benjamin Franklin and his son Mr. William Franklin, who walked as the next chief officers.

development of the "growing society", as the Presbyterians were called at that time, with apprehensions and worked only the more energetically for the establishment of a bishopric.⁴⁶ These circumstances gave Allen an opportunity to emphasize his Whiggish spirit and to espouse the popular cause against a new establishment.⁴⁷ For the first time he had a chance to become popular outside the circle of his own denomination and outside the circle of those who throve on his patronage.

At the same time Allen's party obtained added support from the Lutheran and Reformed churches. The development of leadership and an organization in these groups had been a long process. They needed time in order to adapt to the environment, to increase in wealth and status, and to develop a sense of solidarity. During the 1760's this process was completed, and these groups became a political force. Foremost among their leaders were the Swedish provost Dr. Charles Magnus Wrangel,⁴⁸ the German Lutheran minister Henry Muhlenberg, the influential laymen Dr. Simon Adam Kuhn of Lancaster,⁴⁹ and Heinrich Keppeler of Philadelphia.⁵⁰ Wrangel had come to Philadelphia in 1760 and begun vigorous work among Swedish as well as German Lutherans. During his stay in Philadelphia two more Swedish Lutheran churches were established.⁵¹ He

⁴⁶ See Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

⁴⁷ See Appendix No. 34.

⁴⁸ Charles Magnus Wrangel de Saga studied at Upsala and Goettingen, Doctor theologiae, Swedish Court Preacher, Provost of the Swedish Church in America from 1760 to 1768, later Rector of Sala. See Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden* (Philadelphia: Memoirs of the Historical Society, 1874), vol. XI.

⁴⁹ Simon Adam Kuhn, medical doctor, Justice of the Peace at Lancaster, immigrated in 1733.

⁵⁰ Johann Heinrich Keppeler, born in Baden, Germany in 1716, immigrated in 1738, merchant in Philadelphia, assemblyman, President of the German Society, probably related to S. Adam Kuhn.

⁵¹ Wrangel helped to establish the churches in Kingsessing and Upper Merion; see Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 349 ff.

also had a considerable influence on several members of the Anglican clergy.⁵² His Methodist views attracted attention, and he held a great number of religious meetings on weekdays. Since he was the only theologian of note in the province, and since he evidently was a good speaker and expounder of the Bible, his meetings attracted so much attention that they finally had to be held in the German Lutheran Church.⁵³

At about the same time at which Wrangel came to Philadelphia, Muhlenberg moved from his parsonage in the country to the Lutheran parsonage in Philadelphia. He did this because he had been called in by a party within the church in Philadelphia which was dissatisfied with their present pastor, Johann F. Handschuh, as well as with the authoritarian rule of the old vestrymen who excluded the younger and poorer members of the congregation from participation in the management of church affairs.⁵⁴ The leading vestryman at that time was the rich Henry Keppele. Muhlenberg's appearance in Philadelphia was therefore connected with a number of problems. He had to abandon his country congregation without any good reason since there was a minister in Philadelphia but no minister in the place he left.⁵⁵ Once he arrived in Philadelphia he had to handle his colleague Handschuh with the greatest care in order to avoid being called an intruder. Then he had to refrain from doing

⁵² See Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

⁵³ Since 1762, Wrangel had been conducting a *colloquium biblicum* on Mondays in the homes of Mrs. Hopkinson and of the Reverend Jacob Duchee. At the time of Whitefield's visit to Philadelphia in 1763 this circle was evidently attended by people who had been awakened by Whitefield (see *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg, op. cit.*, I, 702). As time went by this circle attracted more and more attention and by the time of Whitefield's visit in 1765 it had to be held in the German Lutheran church, and even this church was hardly large enough to accommodate the crowds that attended Wrangel's exegetical sermon. (See *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg, op. cit.*, II, 230).

⁵⁴ See *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg, op. cit.*, I, 457 f.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 713.

anything which might displease the rich vestrymen who had contributed most to the building of the Lutheran church in Philadelphia; on the other hand he had to take action in order to please the rebels in the congregations and prevent their secession.⁵⁶ Muhlenberg's greatest asset in these difficult times was his friendship with Wrangel, whom he came to know soon after his arrival in Philadelphia and whom he consulted on every occasion up to the time of Wrangel's recall in 1768.⁵⁷ In the process of this cooperation Wrangel seemed to have followed Muhlenberg's advice in matters of church organization, while Muhlenberg followed Wrangel's advice in political affairs.⁵⁸ This was quite natural, since Muhlenberg had a great deal of experience in organizing churches in America, while Wrangel, on the other hand, due to his status and reputation as a religious scholar, had ready access to all circles of Philadelphia society.

In his new position in Philadelphia Muhlenberg achieved a great diplomatic success within a few years. He designed a church constitution⁵⁹ which provided for free annual elections of the vestrymen, and he called upon the congregation to subscribe to this new constitution openly at an appointed time.⁶⁰ The old vestrymen who had hitherto held the power monopoly could hardly object to this new and equitable constitution, while the rebels on the other hand obtained in this way the guarantees they wanted. This measure prevented a split in the Lutheran

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 416, 461.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 462. Muhlenberg was made assessor of the Swedish Church Council.

⁵⁸ Wrangel was politically very active, e.g., he was invited by the governor to make plans against the invading rioters in 1764, and he was the first to address the rioters. He also organised Lutheran support of the government against the rebels. See *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 20. For Wrangel's attempt to introduce a constitution similar to Muhlenberg's constitution at Gloria Dei, see vestrybook of Gloria Dei (Old Swede's).

⁵⁹ See *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg*, *op. cit.*, I, 561.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 562.

church and reconciled the rebels with the old vestrymen like the influential Henry Keppeler. As a result, 600 Lutherans met in 1765 in the schoolhouse near the church on the election day and went to the polls, where they cast their votes "like one man" for Henry Keppeler,⁶¹ who had taken his seat in the assembly while Franklin was thrown out of the assembly in 1764.

In 1765 Dr. Wrangel introduced a similar church constitution in his Swedish Lutheran Church, but his measures were put across less smoothly; and he was bitterly attacked in the newspaper by a former vestryman, Bankson, who had lost his position as a vestryman.⁶²

In the same year, the Lutheran and Reformed churches were granted charters of incorporation by the Proprietaries, a political gesture which was intended to attach the churches more firmly to the Proprietary cause.⁶³ These churches deserved this Proprietary attention because they had vigorously circulated the petition against the Quaker appeal for royal government. Dr. Wrangel seemed to have been very active in advocating that this stand should be taken by the Lutheran churches, and he

⁶¹ *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg, op. cit.*, II, 273.

⁶² See Vestrybook, Gloria Dei (Old Swede's).

⁶³ Thomas Penn to Dr. William Smith, London, March 8, 1765:

"... I desire you will return our hearty thanks to Mr. Muhlenberg and Dr. Wrangel for the services they have done in opposition to Mr. Franklin's scheme, and assure them of our constant attention to the service of the People of Pennsylvania."

John Penn to Thomas Penn, October 14, 1765:

At the instance of Mr. Allen, Mr. Chew and Dr. Smith I have broken one of my Instructions by granting Charters of Incorporation to the Lutheran, Calvinist and Swedish Churches upon the same footing with that lately given to the English Church... It was done with a view to engage these people to vote against the Quaker faction, for I can call it nothing else. I believe if I had not done it they intended to have applied to the Assembly and were as I was assured, instigated to it by some busy people of the other Party.

Penn letterbook p. 225, Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

evidently convinced the cautious Muhlenberg that a participation in this campaign as well as the granting of charters for the Lutheran churches would be very profitable.⁶⁴

Some of the other denominational groups did not have such unified leadership. William Smith's position in the Anglican Church, for instance, was much less well grounded than Muhlenberg's position in the German Lutheran Church.⁶⁵ The Anglican Church had produced some outstanding men in Philadelphia, but these men were far from achieving unity of purpose. Most outstanding among them were Richard Peters and William Smith; but both of them were in secular employ and for a long time did not get along too well with the successive Rectors of Christ Church, Archibald Cummings, Robert Jenny, and William Sturgeon.⁶⁶ But there was not only the contrast of the secularly employed clergymen and the pastors; there was also the division between Christ Church and St. Paul's, which was paralleled by a rift between Old Churchmen and Liberal Churchmen. The Old Churchmen were generally in the Proprietary interest, while the Liberal Churchmen under leaders like Thomas Leech and John Hughes followed Franklin in the support of the Quaker party.⁶⁷ The Liberal Churchmen, dissatisfied with the conservative pastors of Christ Church, rallied around an erratic preacher, William Macclennaghan.⁶⁸ He had

⁶⁴ See *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg, op. cit.*, II, 102, 271.

⁶⁵ See Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 269, 272, 273.

⁶⁶ Peters, who would have preferred to serve as a pastor, was driven out of Christ Church through the jealousy of Cummings and the intrigues of Dr. Kearsley, etc.; he was also unpopular with those who admired Whitefield, since he had preached against them. For these reasons Peters took the job offered to him by the Proprietaries.

See Penn official correspondence, 1741, *passim*.

Smith was in a similar position. He never obtained a position as a minister. His eager interest in church politics was often resented by the Rectors of Christ Church.

See Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

⁶⁷ See Appendix No. 26.

⁶⁸ See Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-23.

been reluctantly admitted as a colleague by the other clergymen but then had broken away from them openly and had preached first in the State House and then in St. Paul's Church, which was erected by his followers. The Christ Church party saw this development with dismay and regarded the St. Paul's Church men as schismatics. The St. Paul's Church party retorted that the men of Christ Church had the unjustified ambition of bringing all Anglican Churches in Philadelphia under the control of the Rector and vestry of Christ Church.⁶⁹

Younger ministers like Jacob Duchee tended to favor the views of the St. Paul's Church party and to be more open to novel approaches to theology as they were manifest in Dr. Wrangel's Bible lectures.⁷⁰ However, the old clergy saw as much harm in movements like that of the St. Paul's Church men as in the work of Wrangel, whom they regarded as a dangerous Methodist who wanted to distract their parishioners.⁷¹

Nor were slight tendencies of disharmony absent from the Presbyterian Church. The rift between Old Side and New Lights had been healed, for all outward purposes, in 1758;⁷² but within the Presbyterian Church it played a role for a long time after that date. These dissensions cropped up when Old Side and New Lights could not agree on common candidates in the election in Lancaster,⁷³ or when the First Presbyterian Church (Old Side) and the Second Presbyterian Church (New Light) in Philadelphia could not agree on how to establish a Third Presbyterian Church.⁷⁴ The establishment of another Presby-

⁶⁹ See Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 354-55 and pp. 360-61.

⁷² See *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1904), p. 285.

⁷³ See Appendix No. 30.

⁷⁴ See *Records of First and Records of Second Presbyterian Church*, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. The alternatives presented by the First Church were that either the Presbyterian Churches should unite and First, Second, as well as the new Third, should be served by all

terian Church had become necessary in the 1750's because of the growth of Presbyterianism; but each party thought that the other might eventually derive a greater advantage from the establishment of a third church, and thus the negotiations on fund raising and supplying the new church with ministers remained inconclusive.⁷⁵ The New Lights were especially apprehensive because they had lost their great leader, Gilbert Tennent, in 1764 and had not found an adequate successor for a long time.⁷⁶ They had therefore a good reason to fear that the Old Side, which had always remained politically stronger and more numerous and wealthy in Philadelphia, might absorb them speedily in the course of these new schemes of church organization. Similar apprehensions were justified with regard to the College of New Jersey at Princeton, which had been a New Light stronghold. The Old Side Presbyterians were very much interested in the selection of a new president for this college in 1766 and would have liked to have seen the scholarly leader of Philadelphia's Old Side, Dr. Francis Alison, in this position.⁷⁷

The dissensions among the Presbyterians, however, did not have direct political implications as did the divisions in the Anglican Church because both Old Side and New Lights were

ministers, taking turns, or that the First Church alone would be responsible for the Third Church but the Second Church would contribute to its construction.

⁷⁵ In later years, however, members of both churches contributed freely to the establishment of the Third Church; see list of contributors in H. O. Gibbons, *A History of Old Pine* (Third Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia) (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1905).

⁷⁶ In January, 1768, a majority of the congregation voted to call George Duffield as minister; but finally the Reverend Sprout, from Connecticut, accepted the call.

See Records of Second Presbyterian Church, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

⁷⁷ See letters of Samuel Purviance, Jr. to Ezra Stiles, November, 1766, in F. D. Dexter, ed., *Itineraries and Correspondence of Ezra Stiles* (New Haven: Yale, 1916), pp. 557, 558.

attached to the Proprietary interest and were equally opposed to the Quakers.

The German Reformed Church, which was, next to the Presbyterian, the church with the largest membership in Colonial Pennsylvania, had to suffer under many more dissensions than the other churches. Even in the days of Schlatter, divisions among the parishioners in Philadelphia were frequent. Schlatter had to contend first with Rubel and then with Steiner, both of whom proved to be popular preachers and attracted so much attention that they were able to take away the greater part of Schlatter's congregation.⁷⁸ With Schlatter's political involvement and his downfall, the situation became in no way better, and the Reformed parishioners continued to follow the most popular preacher of the moment. One of these popular preachers was Rothenbuehler, who succeeded not only in attracting a large audience but also in inducing his schismatic group to build a large church.⁷⁹ The debt incurred by his followers made them seek more profitable affiliations outside their own church, and they applied to the Anglican Church for admission as an Anglican congregation.⁸⁰ For these reasons the German Reformed Church never attained the unity of purpose and solidarity in organization that the Lutheran Church achieved under Muhlenberg's leadership. Schlatter, who continued to live in Philadelphia after a period of absence as royal chaplain in the French and Indian Wars, did not try to assert his leadership again but lived in an early retirement.⁸¹

At the time when organized church leadership became more and more important, secular political leadership increased as well. The Quaker party used these secular leaders to an ever-increasing degree. The most prominent among those leaders

⁷⁸ See *Minutes of the Coetus*, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 64, 65.

⁷⁹ See *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg*, *op. cit.*, I, 630.

⁸⁰ See Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-97.

⁸¹ See Harbaugh, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

were, of course, Franklin, Galloway, and Hughes.⁸² Since Franklin was out of the country for most of the time after 1757, Hughes and Galloway were in charge of the local political business. With them, an entirely new type of leader appeared in Pennsylvania. Whereas men like the Pembertons, Muhlenberg, or Wrangel obtained their influence because of their status and reputation in their own religious groups, these new leaders had no such position and status and derived their influence merely from their usefulness as political managers. They were looked down upon by both friend and enemy alike, but they were esteemed and feared as instruments of political power.⁸³ They were the first political bosses, servants of power rather than its originators, socially inferior, dreaded but not respected. In a way Franklin had blazed the path for this career but had personally avoided its stigma by attaining respectability as a learned man and philosopher. Furthermore, he had accumulated enough political power on his own merits before he joined the Quaker party. Therefore he was not entirely dependent on the Quaker party, as Hughes and Galloway were, since they came to prominence only because of their association with it.

The evolution of the political boss was therefore rather complicated and proceeded in two stages. The first stage was achieved with the growth of a more open market of political power and a receding of group control. This development gave an opportunity to a political wizard like Franklin who, so to speak, monopolized the non-monopolized political power and conquered areas which so far had not been of political importance.

⁸² John Galloway, lawyer of Quaker descent, assemblyman; John Hughes, merchant, appointed Stamp Tax collector as recommended by Franklin, 1764.

⁸³ John Penn to Thomas Penn, November 12, 1766:

"Galloway and Ross are chosen again. Some of the principal Quakers have said in a publick manner they know both these men to be mad, but they are necessary to nose the Proprietary Party."

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

By concentrating on these areas, he at once widened the scope of political activity, increased the range of public opinion, and made a name for himself independent of both Proprietary and Anti Proprietary parties. In this respect he was an originator rather than a servant of political power. When he finally cast his lot with the Quaker party, he played for a short time the role of a veritable political boss, administering the power of the Quaker phalanx as well as the power of his own secular political background. His being sent to England immediately lifted him out of the local narrowness and day to day routine of this role and gave him the added dignity of a man of the world. Therefore he was not caught in the trap of his own success and could leave the locally accumulated power in the hands of proxies. At this point the second stage of the development set in. The proxies became real political bosses who were powerful only because they could use existing political alignments and because they were backed by a mighty party. The Quaker party, on the other hand, needed their services because it could no longer rely upon the decisions made in sectarian meetinghouses but had to put forth its cause in the marketplace among all sorts of people with whom weighty Friends were not necessarily conversant.

Galloway and Hughes performed their services in the marketplace of political affairs with great versatility. In order to line up support for their party, they visited the leaders of different denominational groups.⁸⁴ They also added another printer to the galaxy of Philadelphia publishers, who was supposed to add to the free press of the province but was expected to propagate the views of Galloway.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ See *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg, op. cit.*, II, 191-92.

⁸⁵ William Allen to Thomas Penn, March 8, 1767:

In order to blow up fresh coal, William Franklin, the . . . Governor of New Jersey, Joseph Galloway, our present Speaker, and one Thomas Wharton, as malevolent as the other two, have procured a printer from Rhode Island whom it is said they have hired . . . and have furnished him with types and other printing tools to publish a weekly

Characteristically enough, the Presbyterian party countered the efforts of these political bosses by the activities of a versatile political boss of its own. The energetic Samuel Purviance made contact with Presbyterians in the city and in different parts of the province and spent more than £300 on his campaign, hoping that the grateful Proprietaries would, at one time, compensate him with an ample land grant.⁸⁶

Hughes's reputation suffered a great deal from his being appointed Stamp Tax collector through the good offices of his friend Franklin at the time of the hated Stamp Act of 1765;⁸⁷ but Galloway, accompanied by the active Quaker Thomas Wharton,⁸⁸ managed to hold the ground for the Quaker party in spite of this adverse event.

The son of Benjamin Franklin, William Franklin, who had been appointed Governor of New Jersey, also lent a helping

paper to inflame the minds of the people . . . which they are better able to accomplish by the aid they receive from the Post Offices: and there can be no doubt that they have Benjamin Franklin's concurrence in this their laudable undertaking, as his printing tools are made use of . . . notwithstanding he is under an agreement with his former partner Mr. Hall . . . not to set up any press . . .

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

See also Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Prelude to Independence*, (New York: Knopf, 1958), p. 118 ff. on Galloway, Wharton, the printer William Goddard, and the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*.

⁸⁶ William Allen to Thomas Penn, March 8, 1767:

[Samuel Purviance Jr. has been of great service] in our elections by uniting the different societys of the Presbyterians, has set on foot committees in the sundry Countys with whom a correspondence has been kept up by expresses in sundry matters relative to the common cause, has expended near £300 which he expected to be repaid him being promised by the friends of the Government to be reimbursed, but money of that sort, when the service is done, comes always hardly . . . [Allen then applies for a substantial Proprietary land grant for Purviance.]

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

⁸⁷ See Appendix No. 31.

⁸⁸ Thomas Wharton, Quaker merchant, associate of Galloway in the campaign for royal government.

hand in the management of Pennsylvania affairs. He often came to Philadelphia, conspiring with Galloway and Wharton and the younger Quakers who, to the dismay of their fathers, were bent on overshooting the mark which the older ones had set up.

Campaigns became more and more elaborate, and the political leaders became more generous in making veritable feasts out of these political events. Political feuds and campaigns as a form of popular entertainment were introduced by these bosses of Colonial America and came to stay for centuries.

VII

THE INTERACTION OF GROUPS

COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA HAD a more diversified population than any of the other American colonies. Religion, profession, and political affiliation were criteria which multiplied and complicated the simpler divisions of ethnic origin, time, and locality of settlement in Pennsylvania. By 1740 the area around Philadelphia was settled chiefly by Quakers and German sectarians who were close to the Quakers in matters of faith and politics; the city and the back country were increasingly filled with German church people, while the frontier areas to the West were settled by Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. However, representatives of all these groups—and particularly of the Quakers, church people and Presbyterians—could be found in Philadelphia. The Quakers naturally were inclined to perpetuate the wide margin of voting strength which the three old counties had over the city and back country. They were interested in maintaining, as far as possible, the status quo; and from 1740 onward immigration and expansion no longer were to their advantage.

The first challenge to the status quo was the Great Awakening, in which manifold groups in Pennsylvania became involved in one way or another. Like a magnet the Great Awakening attracted or repelled the different groups and lined them up in

a pattern of partisan relationships. This process had in turn an impact on the other affiliations of these groups in a cultural and political framework. Thus factions produced by the Great Awakening caused also a weakening or strengthening of certain political positions and the isolation or prominence of certain groups and their leaders as well.

The first year of the Great Awakening was followed by a year which brought the first threat of war to Pennsylvania. Reactions for and against revivalism and for and against defense combined to produce a rather intricate pattern of alignments among the religious and political groups of Pennsylvania. It might have been expected that the united front of pacifist sectarians would be met by an equally united front of non-pacifist church members. But these church members were weakened in their political position by a split in their church organizations and divisions over matters of discipline and doctrine, while on the other hand the sectarians had been united by a common apprehension about church activities and by a rejection of the excessive forms of revivalism.¹

Under these circumstances the first open political campaign of Pennsylvania was fought out in the streets.² When the threat of war receded, political feelings calmed down; but they were revived when the next war threatened Pennsylvania in 1747. At that time Franklin called upon volunteers for an Association for Defense, a measure which not only left the Quakers unscathed because of its voluntary nature but which also pleased those clamoring for defense and found enthusiastic response from such people as were fond of military grandeur and enjoyed marching around in fine uniforms.³ It is therefore under-

¹ See chart on page 130.

² See Chapter V, note 8, letter of R. Hockley to Thomas Penn.

³ Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, February 1, 1747:

"[the Associators'] Conduct has been remarkably regular and moderate . . . between 5 & 600 Men consisting principally of the

standable that Franklin soon gained popularity by this stroke of political genius.

In the intervening years between these two threats of war, the enthusiasm of the revival had ceased to stir the masses; and the Second Presbyterian Church, which had grown out of the Awakening, settled down to normality and became merely one of the multitude of groups in Pennsylvania. The Moravians shared the same fate. They had great missionary successes from 1742 to 1747; but in 1747 one of their most active missionaries, Jacob Lischy, became an apostate and published accounts of his disillusioning experiences among the Moravians.⁴ In Philadelphia the Moravians had had a considerable circle of influential sympathizers in the early years of the Great Awakening, but because of the competition of the Second Presbyterian Church these sympathizers soon found themselves without any possibility of advancing the Moravians' cause. Charles Brockden, the Recorder of Deeds, tried valiantly to defend the position of the Moravians in the New Building against the growing assertiveness of Gilbert Tennent and his Presbyterians.⁵ But his attempts proved in vain, and Tennent practically turned this building into a Presbyterian church although the Moravians had had

Merchants and Tradesmen of the City presented themselves under arms to the President and Council at the Court House who ordered me to acquaint them that their measures were not disapproved of by the Government . . ."

Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, June 17, 1748:

"[The Associators] are extremely fond of their Regimentals and every one that has them always appear with their Swords and Coackades and some of the officers have been at a good deal of expense for a handsome Military dress."

Penn official correspondence. Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

⁴ Lischy joined the Reformed Church after talking to Schlatter in 1747; in the same year he published his first book against the Moravians. A further pamphlet was published by Christopher Sauer in 1748 (Lischy's "Zweite Declaration"). In the years before his separation from the Moravians he had been one of the most successful missionaries and "circuit-riders".

⁵ See Appendix No. 2—5.

quite a hand in its establishment and insisted that it should remain an interdenominational meetinghouse. At about the same time several of the interdenominational churches, the construction of which the Moravians had promoted, had a similar fate, and fell into the hands of the strongest and most self-assertive denomination that used it.⁶

The famous New Building was rescued from such a fate as that which overcame interdenominational meetinghouses in general at a time when interdenominationalism had vanished. This rescue was achieved by an interesting and very revealing maneuver. Franklin, who had joined the original board of trustees of the New Building as a result of a by-election, arranged for a transfer of the building to a new set of trustees in 1749.⁷ The old trustees consisted of a group of Moravian sympathizers and a few Presbyterians; the new board was made up of Franklin's liberal friends who were interested in establishing an Academy. Since the original articles of the New Building provided for the establishment of a Charity School, the new trustees continued to operate under the old articles and evicted Gilbert Tennent and his Presbyterian Church by pointing out that the building was intended for interdenominational use. Tennent had to build his own church, but he received compensation from the new trustees for the investments he had made in the building.⁸ What the Moravians could not achieve was done by the liberals; and thus the New Building was saved, and it could serve as the first home of that institution which was originally

⁶ In several communities, e.g. Heidelberg, Pa. (1744), the Moravians had asked Lutheran and Reformed members of the community to construct a common church which could also serve as a schoolhouse. In most cases the harmony did not prevail for long.

⁷ See Appendix No. 1 and the documents concerning the transfer from one set of trustees to the other in the Archives of the University of Pennsylvania.

⁸ Tennent and his Second Presbyterian Church received £700 as a reimbursement for their investments in the New Building. See documents in the Archives of the University of Pennsylvania.

called the Academy, then the College of Philadelphia, and finally the University of Pennsylvania. Liberalism had replaced Pietism as the agent of interdenominational activity.

The Moravians, whose interdenominational endeavors had become outdated, receded more and more toward their headquarters in Bethlehem. Gradually they were reduced from a movement of general importance in Pennsylvania to another denominational group which counted as a political force only in the newly established Northampton County, where the Proprietary surveyor William Parsons, the founder of Easton, was superseded at election time to his dismay by the popular Moravians James Burnside and William Edmonds.⁹ The Moravian missions among the Delaware Indians, which took up most of the time of the Moravian missionaries after the interdenominational missions among the Germans had been abandoned, attracted some attention. However, Indian affairs were in the hands of Conrad Weiser, who relied more on his influence among the Iroquois. For this reason the Moravian contacts with the Delaware Indians did not become important until after the French and Indian War. Thus the Moravians were thought of as a quiet but unimportant group that might become undesirable only because they lived on the frontiers but were exempt from military service.¹⁰

⁹ James Pemberton to Richard Partridge, 7, 10th mo., 1755:

"... in Northampton where Mr. Allen and his Friends had their Dependence they have returned a Moravian in the Room of James Burnside (deceased) who was a very prudent Member."

Pemberton-Fothergill correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

Burnside had been a Moravian circuit rider during the Great Awakening. His successor in the assembly was William Edmonds, the Moravian of whom Pemberton writes in this letter.

¹⁰ Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, February 17, 1749:

[on the Moravians] ... it is but an upstart modern sect of ignorant Fanaticks who have artfully joined themselves to the old Moravian Brethren but agree with that church on nothing, but the names. I mention this that you may think whether it will be proper to place such

The German church people had in the meantime increased to such an extent that they were viewed with apprehension by many groups and for several reasons. At the same time when the Moravians ceased to be prominent, the increasing German immigration seemed to pose new problems. One of the most basic tensions between English and German Pennsylvanians originated, of course, from such things as different customs, different tastes and looks, difficulty of communication, and a resulting lack of information.¹¹ However, these tensions were aggravated by political apprehensions and frustrations. Seen from the perspective of the time, the assimilation of the Germans was definitely one of the most important problems in the development of Pennsylvania. The percentage of the Germans was so high that for a certain period of time it was almost an open question as to who would have to assimilate whom. All those who had some experience with the problem were rather pessimistic about a solution. Franklin, who had tried his best to find an access to the German public, was angry and frustrated.¹² The obstinacy of the Germans in clinging to their own culture was interpreted as ignorance; their increasing political consciousness was dreaded as paving the way for sedition, and when the French came nearer to Pennsylvania's frontier, the Germans were seen as potential traitors.¹³

a set of folks on your Western Boundaries especially when they are exempted by Act of Parliament from bearing arms. On your recommendation of them Mr. Spangenberg and all the Brethren will own that I have done them substantial services and though there be many stories told of them yet I have not yet known a bad thing fixed upon them nevertheless their tenets being nonsensical . . .

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

¹¹ See Appendix No. 16, 20.

¹² See Glenn Weaver, "Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV (October, 1957), 536-559.

¹³ See Appendix No. 14 and see William Smith, *A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania* (London: Griffith, 1755).

At this point the basic American rule of integration by education was tried out for the first time. The Charity School movement was devised in order to introduce the German children to English society by teaching them to speak English and preparing some of them for the ministry in order to supply the Germans with new leadership.¹⁴ Unfortunately for the Charity School movement there was no way to overrule the parents by making this kind of education compulsory. The parents, however, saw clearly that this scheme of education was a social and political enterprise rather than a purely educational one and therefore for the most part refused to send their children to these schools.¹⁵ As a result, the Charity School movement failed; and it intensified rather than removed the tensions between the German and the English population. The German sectarians and separatists were most active in rejecting the movement, whereas some of the church people participated in it.¹⁶ On the whole the church people were more open to attempts at integration, and the German ministers preached in English as well as in German; but none of the English ministers tried to preach in German. Although they were interested in integration, the English leaders did not try to learn German; integration to them meant a one-way assimilation, and this has continued to be so in America even up to the present day.

During the years in which the Charity School scheme was under way, the position of some of the English groups took a different turn as well. The Quakers found themselves publicly more and more in competition with a front of church groups which were no longer disturbed and divided by revivalism. In these years the Quakers made it a point to contribute freely to

¹⁴ See Edwin S. Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Campbell, 1905).

¹⁵ For parents' opinions see Sauer's letter, Appendix No. 20.

¹⁶ See Appendix No. 17; the list of communities having schools is almost entirely a list of Lutheran and Reformed communities.

the establishment of the Pennsylvania Hospital.¹⁷ At the same time the political involvements of the Quakers in Pennsylvania were viewed with apprehension by religious Quakers in the province as well as at home in England. Friends like John Hunt, Christop Wilson, and Samuel Fothergill toured the province in cooperation with important Quaker preachers of Pennsylvania like John Woolman. They tried to direct the minds of Friends toward a new attitude with regard to the world and political power.¹⁸ The Presbyterians and champions of the Proprietary party observed these activities of the Friends in London gleefully and hoped that these admonitions would curb the political assertiveness of Pennsylvania Quakers.¹⁹

The German church groups did not become a political force before the French and Indian War. They were watched by other groups as to which side they would turn;²⁰ but the cautious ministers, especially Muhlenberg, preserved a noncommittal attitude in order to avoid getting involved in political controversies at a time when their church organizations were still in the making. As the example of Schlatter showed, this cautious attitude was very wise because the church groups at that time did not have sufficient weight of their own; therefore they were likely

¹⁷ Governor Hamilton to Thomas Penn, July 5, 1751:

[about application to grant ground for Pennsylvania Hospital] "You will please to be informed that the Project of this Hospital took its rise principally among Friends, who as they say are desirous of showing that when they are not restrained by principle they can be as liberal as others, and indeed many of them have subscribed very largely, several of them £100 a piece . . ."

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

¹⁸ The London Meeting for Sufferings was very eager to get a parallel Meeting for Sufferings established in Pennsylvania, and to encourage Friends in withdrawing from the Assembly. Samuel Fothergill made a preparatory tour in 1755/56; John Hunt and Christopher Wilson arrived after the elections. See Chapter VI, note 26.

¹⁹ See Appendix No. 29. John Hunt came to Pennsylvania again in the times of Pontiac's rebellion with a similar order as in 1756.

²⁰ See *The Journals of Henry Muhlenberg*, *op. cit.*, I, 212, and *passim*.

to be used as pawns in the hands of stronger political groups without being able to assert their own will.

German sectarians retained their hostility toward ministers and church people, but as the political discrimination against the Germans in Berks and Northampton counties became manifest, their solidarity increased; and even quietist sectarians protested against disenfranchisement.²¹ Discrimination and distrust might have become a disruptive force in the development of Pennsylvania if the French and Indian War had not frightened all Pennsylvanians into solidarity. The tragedy of Gnadenhuetten illustrated this development most clearly. This Moravian-Indian settlement was wiped out in a surprise attack by Indians who were known to be allied with the French. The startling news of this event alarmed the province and at once dispelled all suspicion that the Moravians might be Popish traitors secretly allied with the French, a rumor which had been propagated even by William Smith.²² When Gnadenhuetten became Fort Allen²³ a few months later, Pennsylvania's solidarity was signally demonstrated. At this point the Quakers had to fear that a solidarity achieved in defensive warfare might put an end to Quaker influence in Pennsylvania. Consequently

²¹ See Appendix No. 15.

²² Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 37: "Many [of the Germans] are also Moravians who, as they conceal their Principles, are suspected to be a dangerous People, more especially as they hold some Tenets and Customs, as far as we have any opportunity of judging them, very much a-kin to those of the Roman Catholics . . ."

²³ After the attack on Gnadenhuetten, the Moravian leader Spangenberg wrote to Secretary Peters, recommending that a fort should be built on the site of Gnadenhuetten and offering the premises of the mission station for that purpose. A request to fit out and man this fort themselves was, however, answered in the negative by the Moravians, since they did not want to jeopardize their religious message by actively engaging in a military enterprise. The Pennsylvania Government then built Fort Allen at Gnadenhuetten. See correspondence Peters-Spangenberg, December, 1755, in Hazard Family Papers, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania (listed under Spangenberg).

two groups among the Quakers chose different ways to meet this situation. One group decided that they should not exclude themselves from this solidarity, and they therefore endorsed a Militia Law and remained in the assembly; they used this moment to prepare an appeal for royal government, maintaining that Proprietary government was not suitable for preserving the province. The other group among the Quakers decided to establish a different kind of solidarity: a Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians. In future developments these two groups supplemented each other very well since the one group was promoting a plan for royal government while the other group set out to prove that the Proprietary government was incapable of handling Indian affairs. In the course of these endeavors the Quaker merchants combined political aims with business interests and made an attempt to monopolize the Indian trade. They could justify these attempts by pointing out that the Indian trade on which the Indians had come to depend had been used chiefly by unscrupulous traders to debase and defraud the Indians. Furthermore they could argue that the Indians needed a steady flow of supplies and that they could be attached to that party which could guarantee continuity and good quality of supplies.²⁴

²⁴ Christopher Wilson to Rachel Pemberton, London, 7th, 2nd mo., 1758.

The attention of our great men at Helm seems much fixed on . . . Indian affairs and I cannot help thinking Providence hath opened a door for our friends in America to yet shine . . . no umbrage will be taken at Friends imbarcking in a Trade with the Indians and it hath looked to me from the openings I have found they must do it and lead of by Example . . . a sketch will be sent to you to that purpose, Lord Granville seemed so intent . . . he brought John Hunt under an engagement to draw some plan and he would show it to the King which indeed seemed a heavy tax without your concurrence and help, however, some outlines are drew for that purpose by J. Hunt and Dr. Fothergill.

Pemberton Papers, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

At the same time the Moravians became more prominent again because they were no longer considered as dangerous outsiders. The steadfastness with which they had maintained Bethlehem as a place of refuge for frontier settlers and Christian Indians alike, throughout the French and Indian Wars, made an impression on other Pennsylvanians; and important men came to visit the town, admiring its institutions, its manufactures, waterworks and so forth.²⁵ The good relations of the Moravians with the local Delaware Indians also became a matter of greater importance at this time since Pennsylvania diplomacy shifted from the Iroquois to the Delawares, and the Moravian missionary Frederick Post²⁶ gradually replaced Conrad Weiser as Indian agent of the province. However, the popularity of the Moravians did not last too long. The Scotch-Irish frontier settlers, to whom the only good Indian was a dead Indian, distrusted the Moravian Indians; and before the next Indian war started on the frontier in 1764, the Moravians were again regarded with suspicion, just as they had been prior to the first French and Indian War.²⁷

Warfare and defense were, during all these years, a particular interest of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. They relied on armed deterrence rather than on Friendly Associations in their dealings with the Indians. As early as 1748 Sauer reported with disgust, in his newspaper, that Gilbert Tennent encouraged his

²⁵ See Franklin's account in his *Autobiography* (New York: The Pocket Library, 1954).

²⁶ See Anthony Wallace, *Teedyuscung* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), p. 190 f., p. 213 f.

²⁷ See *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg, op. cit.*, I, 709:

I heard . . . an oil mill was burned in Bethlehem, and it is thought that it may well have been done by neighbouring inhabitants who were much embittered against the Moravians because they suspected that the Bethlehemites and their Indian friends had some parts in several murders . . . However it is very difficult to prove and still more difficult to remove the people's suspicions.

parishioners to use his church as a place for military exercises.²⁸ In Philadelphia much of this military thunder of the Presbyterians was stolen by Franklin and his Associators. In the back country, however, the Presbyterians controlled almost entirely the Militia, which came into existence under the militia laws passed as a result of the French and Indian Wars.²⁹ The Presbyterians had very early espoused the Proprietary cause and were bitterly opposed to the Quakers. Before the French and Indian Wars, the growth and martial spirit of Presbyterianism became of even greater importance. Soon the Proprietary party was almost exclusively a Presbyterian party, while the Quakers by reaction became more friendly inclined toward the Anglican Church.³⁰

²⁸ See *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, January 16, 1748.

²⁹ Col. John Armstrong to Thomas Penn, November 5, 1759:

[introduction to an application for a donation of land for a Presbyterian Church at Carlisle] . . . I need scarcely intimate to you, Sir, that among the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, the Presbyterians are far from being inconsiderable, and as they make some progress in wealth, the colleges and other seminaries of learning now erected in different Colonies and mostly in their hands will soon cultivate the minds and manners of the younger people; which together with their great Majority in your Province must make them much more important, than they have hitherto appeared. Give us leave to add their loyalty and military spirit, comprising the far greater number both of the officers and soldiers raised by this Government, the difficulties and loss of blood they have sustained on the Frontiers during the Indian war, should not be overlooked in the survey.

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

³⁰ James Pemberton to Dr. Fothergill, 14th, 11th mo., 1766:

A friend from Connecticut Government lately here says by a Revival of Care the Ch. of England is increasing much there, a number of new Worship Houses built and the Presbyterians in proportion Decreasing, the like care would undoubtedly produce the like effect in other places and might relieve us from the unfavourable prospect of the Evils to be feared from increasing of the People [Presbyterians] . . .

See also Isaac Sharpless. *Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania* (New York: Macmillan, 1919), p. 89 ff. (Another part of the letter mentioned above is quoted by Sharpless).

Ever since the petition for royal government and Franklin's mission to England, the Proprietary and Anti Proprietary parties had become inveterate enemies. Indeed, only the French and Indian War had provided Pennsylvania with a political situation which resembled more closely a two-party system. Before the war the Proprietary party was a circle of "the governor's friends" that lacked mass contacts, popular causes, and local organization. For these reasons it was much more proper to speak of the "Proprietary interest" than of a party. After the war this situation changed; and the Presbyterians, with their ministers and military heroes like Armstrong and Burd, provided a formidable backbone for a real political party. As this party consolidated it became not only a valuable political instrument to the Proprietaries, but it also had more and more influence on the Proprietaries themselves. William Allen's visit with the Proprietaries in London and his increasing correspondence with Thomas Penn in which he advised him on matters of policy were symptoms of this development.³¹ The Proprietaries, who were very much afraid of the schemes of the "wicked" Franklin, were glad to find in the Presbyterians valuable allies.

The passing of the Stamp Act and Pontiac's rebellion coincided with the renewed attempt of the Quaker party to petition for royal government in the years 1764-65, and this gave to the Proprietary party another chance to promote its cause. At the same time, however, the Anglican plans for an American bishopric alienated the Presbyterians and Anglicans from each other. The rejection of the establishment of a bishopric, however, provided another popular cause that strengthened the popular appeal of the Presbyterians and thus contributed to the popularity of the Proprietary cause in the same measure as the

³¹ Allen was in England in 1764; the number of his letters to Penn increases greatly in the 1760's as compared with earlier decades. See Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania. See also Appendix No. 33-34.

rift between Anglicans and Presbyterians weakened the Proprietary party.

The German churches, which did not particularly care for the establishment of an Anglican bishopric and had nothing against the Presbyterians, cooperated increasingly with them and helped to swell the ranks of the Proprietary party.³² Popular speculations that the German Reformed might unite with the Presbyterians while the Lutherans would join the Anglicans had remained mere dreams.³³ The German churches had attained instead an increasing degree of self-confidence, which made it possible for them to become a political force in the very years in which the Proprietary and the Anti Proprietary parties fought one of their biggest political battles. This time the German church groups could outweigh the German sectarians who had always supported the Quakers. Gladly the German church people lent their vote to unseat Franklin, who had once called

³² See Appendix No. 30.

³³ Plans of Union of the German and Dutch Reformed and the Presbyterians had been discussed before Schlatter's arrival in America but had remained inconclusive. With the establishment of the Reformed Coetus, the Reformed achieved an organization of their own; and therefore the need for such a union ceased to exist. A Union of Lutherans and Anglicans was chiefly promoted by Swedish Lutherans like Wrangel, who saw no great difference in doctrine between the two churches and realized that the Swedish had become rather Anglicized in the course of time. The German Lutherans, being even more solidly organized than the German Reformed, had even less need for any union. Nevertheless popular imagination was quick to suspect such plans; see e.g. *The Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg, op. cit.*, I, 456:

(May 25, 1761) When I was about to the English High Church I was called into the English parsonage. There I found a numerous assembly of reverend English missionaries who were just holding their annual synodical meeting. They took me along into the church, honored me beyond my deserving, and allowed me to attend a session *passive*. This certainly did me no harm, but it caused a rumor to go abroad to the effect that the Poor *Praeses Minist[er]i Teuton[ici]* had subscribed the Articles of the High Church, although there was not so much as a shadow of truth in it.

the Germans "Palatine Boors", a fact which was played up by the Proprietary party in the elections of 1764.³⁴

The German sectarians on the other hand were not quite happy about the Quaker party's petition for royal government. They knew that the Quakers were protected in their civil and religious liberties by former acts and decrees of the British government; but they were not so sure about their own fate if, with the cessation of Proprietary government, Penn's tolerant charter should be invalidated. They therefore notified their Quaker friends about these apprehensions since they were not easily convinced of the benefits of the petition for royal government.³⁵

The signing of petitions and counter-petitions were, for such reasons, stirring events in the development of public opinion in Pennsylvania. Thousands of voters were visited by both parties and asked for their signatures. Some of them changed their minds rather quickly and recanted by subscribing to the Anti-petition, though they had signed the petition a short time before.³⁶

The partisan campaign not only influenced public opinion on the level of popular feelings but also penetrated all aspects of Pennsylvanian life. Thus it had its impact also on the growing cultural and intellectual activities. Franklin's American Philosophical Society became a part of Pennsylvania's establishment and was to such an extent in the "Proprietary interest" that it was impossible to get Franklin elected as its president.³⁷ The

³⁴ See Glenn Weaver, *op. cit.*

³⁵ See Appendix No. 28.

³⁶ E.g. Anthony Armbruster, the printer, who signed the counter-petition of the Proprietary party, explicitly stating that he had signed the petition for royal government but had seen his mistake in the meantime.

See Penn official manuscripts, petition forms 1764, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

³⁷ See Brook Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 130.

Philosophical Society had been dormant for more than a decade; but when it was revived, this was done for social reasons rather than for purely philosophical ones. It had been founded with similar second thoughts, but at that time it served as a rallying point for young liberals and secularly inclined people who wanted to escape the narrowness of denominational religious thought. Once revived it became a showplace of Proprietary sophistication rather than a center of liberal thought. The liberals of the new generation had, in the meantime, founded their own organization, which they called "The American Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge".³⁸ While the Philosophical Society attracted the Proprietary partisans and Presbyterians, the other society was supported by Quakers and their sympathizers. They elected Franklin as their president in due course; and Franklin, who was held ineligible for this office by the society which he himself had founded, gladly accepted the position in the new society.³⁹ This instance demonstrated once again that the institutions became part of the establishment while Franklin himself managed to move more and more to the left as he grew older, while others tended to move to the right. With this amazing ability he survived all political hazards and became, in his seventies, an arch-revolutionary and president of a radical assembly,⁴⁰ while his younger associates fell by the roadside, victims of prior commitments.

Thus the interaction of groups had undergone a significant change from the time of the Great Awakening to the days of the Stamp Act. Revivals had given way to the signing of petitions and riotous demonstrations. Ministers and religious leaders had lost much of their influence to political bosses. Science had replaced theology as a topic of conversation among the sophisti-

³⁸ See Brook Hindle, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁴⁰ See Theodore Thayer, *Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy* (Harrisburg: Hist. and Museum Comm., 1953).

cated. Opinions were no longer confined to meetinghouses but became public and had to be discussed in the streets, on the steps of the Statehouse, and in the coffeehouse at Philadelphia, where Israel Pemberton would break the news of the nomination of a new governor even before the secretary of the Proprietaries became aware of what was going on.⁴¹

At the same time the Germans, who had once been a problem and who had been regarded with apprehensions, had become an integral part of the political scene and voted on the side of both parties, thus dispelling the suspicion that one party had duped them.

This change gradually produced a distinctly American experience and provided the growing generation with a sense of identity of its own so that young men who had gone "home" to Britain for advanced studies could look back and think of America no longer as a mere colony but as a new and different entity.⁴²

In summary, the interaction of the different denominational groups during the period from 1740 to 1770 may be described by means of the chart on the following page.

This survey at once shows how the basic contrast between a sectarian, pacifist, antiproprietary front and a non-pacifist, proprietary front of church people was affected by a series of religious and political constellations that greatly diversified the existing tensions. These constellations changed with every decade and provided more and more opportunities for public debates, newspaper wars, and a general political sophistication of the

⁴¹ Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, June 3, 1756:

[concerning the news of the nomination of a new governor] "the Quakers immediately published their victory, Israel Pemberton coming for that purpose to the Coffeehouse. I had just time to apprise Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Allen before that Gentleman [Pemberton] declared it with a triumphant sneer at the Coffeehouse . . ."

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

⁴² See Hindle, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

Pennsylvanians. In the course of these developments the denominational groups acted increasingly as pressure groups rather than as religious organizations. However, religious issues could crop up at any turn of events and seriously disturb party alignments. The controversies over an American bishopric provide a characteristic example of this situation.

CHART SHOWING INTERACTION OF DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONAL GROUPS
1740—1770

Sect	Church				
Pacifist	Non-Pacifist				
Anti Proprietary	Proprietary				
	<i>Quietist</i>		<i>Revivalist</i>		<i>Conservative</i>
	<i>Anti Revivalist</i>				<i>Anti Revivalist</i>
1741	Quakers, Schwenkfelders, Dunkers Mennonites	Moravians	Lutherans and German Reformed	New Light Presb.	Old Side Presbyterians Anglicans
	<i>Conscientious Objectors</i>		<i>For Defense Anti Proprietary</i>		<i>For Defense Proprietary</i>
1756	religious Quakers Schwenkfelders, etc. Moravians	secular Quakers	liberal Churchmen	New Light and Old Side Presbyterians Anglicans German churches	
	<i>Anti Proprietary for royal gout.</i>		<i>Proprietary against episcop.</i>		<i>Proprietary for episcop.</i>
1765	religious Quakers Schwenkfelders, etc. Moravians	secular Quakers	liberal Churchmen	Presbyterians German churches	Old Churchmen (Anglicans)

One of the most amazing features of the political course of events during these thirty years was the survival of the Quaker party, although it may be said that while in 1740 the stress was on "Quaker" rather than on "party", in 1765 the stress was definitely on party, the Quakers being largely replaced by secular leaders. In fact one contemporary observer remarked that the solidarity of the Quakers seemed to depend chiefly on the

survival of their party as a political force.⁴³ Thus the Quaker party had become slowly an empty shell, yet it was used as a vehicle by liberals and radicals and thus served its purpose on the expanding scene of Pennsylvania politics. Similarly the Proprietary party, which had gained strength because it had become a Presbyterian party, served a cause that was bound to become obsolete in the near future, but in its time had sharpened the wits and challenged the minds of the Pennsylvanians. The subject matter of controversies soon lost its novelty; nevertheless, while the battle was on, the issues seemed vital, and in the course of action and reaction the participants of these controversies were gradually welded together. Thus, finally, they formed a highly sensitive public that could be easily aroused but not easily misled, stubborn in its opinions yet versatile in shifting its attention from one issue to the next.

⁴³ John Penn to Thomas Penn, November 12, 1766:

"Everything in the Political way has turned against us. The opposite party are too powerful. The Quakers are a Macedonian Phalanx not to be broken by any force that can be brought against them in this country. Their very existence, if I may be allowed the expression, depends upon their having a majority in the Assembly . . ."

Penn official correspondence, Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

VIII

THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION was an accident. Nobody involved in it had prepared it over a long period of time. Many of those prominent as its leaders in later years had tried, in the years before the Revolution, their best to prevent a rupture between Britain and its American colonies. The basic tensions causing the revolution were the differences in perspective between an inexperienced central government of an empire that had grown too fast and its self-assertive outposts or, in other words, a breakdown of communication. Only a few of the American colonists had positive or definite ideas about America's future; to most of them the Declaration of Independence, which gave expression to their grievances, was all they cared for. Attempts to draft a constitution, however, were unpopular because few could see what such a document as well as a Federal Union would be good for. As far as the populace was concerned politics was chiefly a matter of every single colony; where it transcended this line it became political philosophy. Intercolonial solidarity was good enough as far as the rejection of the claims of the mother country were concerned but beyond that there was no point to it. Thus the revolutionary mood was chiefly turned against provincial institutions which had been considered unsatisfactory for some time before. In

Pennsylvania the younger radicals, artisans, and back countrymen, descended on the city, superseded the traditional assembly, and passed a radical constitution which guaranteed to them the rights which they had lacked for so long. This constitution, not the federal constitution, was close to their hearts.¹

This situation has to be taken into account in order to see the American Revolution in a more natural perspective. Patriotic mythology has made of the American Revolution a kind of solemn ritual performed by a nation of initiated high priests who grew up to fulfill the momentous task of slaying the primordial father. Consequently the eve of the Revolution is often described in terms of an inexorable progress toward a predestined end. However, this approach does little justice to the real dynamics of Colonial American politics. In many respects the American Revolution was like the Great Awakening, a transitional phase of passing interest but lasting influence, an end as well as a beginning. Only political and historical reflection have fixed and gradually deepened the outlines of an image which obtained a value in itself as an ideal. Thus the Revolution has become a canonical institution, and its leaders found their way into the hagiology of liberal imagination and political science.

There are two traditions in American civilization. The one is manifest in the American public conscience, which found its expression in the American Revolution, and in the image derived from it. This tradition is normative and revolutionary and asserts that this country is governed by law, not by men. The assertions of this tradition are phrased in a blend of law-abiding Puritanism and natural-law Enlightenment, as both the revealed law of God and the discovered law of nature are by definition absolute, and therefore uncompromising and universal.

¹ See Glenn A. Lehman, "Gerrymandering in Pennsylvania," M. A. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1932. See also Theodore Thayer, *Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy* (Harrisburg: Hist. and Museum Commission, 1953).

Of the words "E Pluribus Unum" this tradition stresses the *Unum* and refuses to yield ground to the evolutionary diversities of *E Pluribus*.

The other tradition in American civilization is the sequence of generational change and its climactic experiences, which provided each generation with its own vital relation to American reality. Exposed to a continuous stream of immigration, America needed a pattern of assimilation by leaps and bounds. There was no generally recognized establishment which could provide the rules of education, social life, and the style of politics. Only common experience could integrate and influence the diversified population. For these reasons the most successful leaders relied on the indirect approach of creating facts rather than pronouncing their insights and displaying their ambitions. Pontifical behavior was quickly detected and deeply resented, and therefore it was not possible for any one man or group to direct public affairs in a highhanded manner.

The unsuccessful Charity School movement of Pennsylvania was a typical example of this state of affairs. The German population resented the impositions of a local establishment that intended to bring about the integration of the German with the English population by means of a carefully devised educational scheme. However, while integration failed under such circumstances, it was soon accomplished to an amazing degree by a series of political events which put both English and German Pennsylvanians under pressure. And finally when the Revolution came, a great many Germans joined the Revolutionary Army, thus demonstrating a solidarity which had not been instilled by the paternalism of well-meaning leaders but rather by the course of events.

This course of events, however, not only included the protests against Britain; it included the whole political experience of local campaigns and local issues, revival and war, participation in church organization, and meetinghouse politics. All these ex-

periences added up to an emancipation of the citizen in the same way as the events leading up to the Great Awakening had paved the way for the emancipation of the layman. Therefore the disposition toward revolutionary activities was increased and could be directed against anything that might strike the popular imagination. The emancipation of the citizen took the form of a Declaration of Independence only because popular wrath found a convenient object of attention in the bungling and ill-advised measures of the British government. Under different circumstances the American Revolution might well have remained a purely American phenomenon like the Great Awakening before it and the Second Awakening, Jacksonianism, and the Civil War after it. The Great Awakening, for instance, could easily have been combined with a violent revolt against British or other European church authorities in case the Bishop of London or the King had tried to dictate American church policy, impose unpopular ministers, eradicate separatism, and introduce tithes payable to authorities in England. Since this did not happen, the Great Awakening remained an internal affair. Similarly the accumulated political grievances which found their expression in the American Revolution might in the absence of British provocation have led to radical movements pressing for an extension of the franchise, rewriting of certain colonial charters and constitutions, and better representation of newly established counties and of city dwellers in the provincial legislatures. However, as matters actually developed, the British government had to take many of the blows which were really aimed at provincial parties and bosses who had profited from unequal representation and had refused to give up traditional strongholds of political power.²

In Pennsylvania one of the most important unintentional preparations for the revolution had been the partisan competition

² See e.g. J. R. Pole, "Suffrage and Representation in Massachusetts," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV, (October, 1957).

for the city and back country vote. This competition had made the citizens aware of their political strength, but it had at the same time demonstrated to them their political handicaps imposed and perpetuated by the very people who coveted their vote. Both the Proprietary government and the Anti Proprietary Quaker party had been unanimous in their refusal to grant an adequate number of representatives to the new counties and to the ever-expanding city. After all, both these parties represented conservative elements and were interested in maintaining the status quo. However, by competing with each other both these parties became more and more radical and opened their ranks to campaigners who could swing the popular vote in their interest. When finally the Quaker party attacked the status quo in one of its most essential points by petitioning for royal government, the Presbyterian Proprietary party started to work on the new counties in order to obtain seats in the assembly. The Quakers, in turn, countered this move by whipping up the city. The relatively small number of representatives returned by these growing constituencies frustrated everybody concerned because the campaigns were connected with so much work and expense but little reward, while the old Quaker counties, with irritatingly little effort, returned their large share of representatives.

In short, the old political groups which had slowly become parties and had been instruments of political life for a long time, could adjust to the increasing need for political expression only to a limited extent and were therefore becoming obstacles to new developments. Furthermore, it may be said, in a slight deviation from the Turner thesis, that the old centers of political power had challenged the city and the frontier counties to such an extent but at the same time had tied them down so thoroughly that a resounding response was long overdue.

Thus there were in fact two American Revolutions, the one and more fundamental which was the necessary climax of a long-term development of territorial expansion as well as of an

increase of political consciousness, the other more generally known one which was caused by specific provocations and which would not have occurred without these provocations. This second aspect of the Revolution has been stressed more often because it also contributed greatly to a unification of the American colonies, a development which was not inherent in the more fundamental trend toward better representation. Indeed the functions of the Federal Government could have been fulfilled easily by the British Government, which could have perpetuated its influence in America by allying itself with the inhabitants of the expanding territories in back of the old centers, ingratiating itself with the people by a generous land policy in the West while granting a good deal of autonomy to each single colony.

Although independence could have been forestalled, an increasing degree of colonial autonomy was definitely necessary by 1770. American self-reliance had grown ever since the Great Awakening; and it expressed itself in such diverse developments as the growth of Presbyterianism, the quest for an American episcopate, the spread of liberal education, the activities of local scientific societies, and the increasing number of artisans as well as professional men like doctors and lawyers. The Pilgrim's progress had turned into the layman's emancipation, and finally into the citizen's revolution. The shift from religious to political preoccupations was a gradual process, and it took the time of one generation from the Great Awakening to the Revolution to replace denominational and group interests with a more general political interest. The period before the Great Awakening had seen a similar shift from a passive acceptance of the communal covenant³ or of the means of grace administered by the church to an active and sometimes even rebellious participation in church affairs and religious controversies. Once shaken out of passivity and communal or priestly tutelage, the

³ See Larzer Ziff, "The Social Bond of the Church Covenant," *American Quarterly*, X (Winter, 1958), on Communal Covenant.

layman turned his inquisitive mind from matters of religion to secular affairs. The direction of the development explains why denominational groups served as pressure groups and parties until another generation which was politically-minded replaced old distinctions with new ones, which represented more accurately the controversies of their time.

America was not unique in the world with regard to an increasing political consciousness, Whiggish and democratic tendencies, and a general restlessness. However, the long experience of politicians in provincial legislatures, the growth of democracy and voluntary participation in church organizations, and the existence of an alert public gave to the America of the 18th century a stability and continuity which was absent in England and especially lacking in France. It is the American Evolution more than the American Revolution that has been the foundation of America's political destiny. In this evolution the secession from the British empire was an act which in the long run affected Britain more than it affected America, whereas the political maturity which followed the era of religious emancipation was America's real revolutionary heritage.

CONCLUSIONS

THREE INTERRELATED TRENDS have been outlined in the course of this study: the transformation of diverse groups into a public, the shift from religious to secular interests, and the sequence of revivalistic fervor and denominational consolidation. These trends have been considered with respect to the long-term developments of history as well as with regard to their short-term interactions in the particular situation of Colonial Pennsylvania. The pattern of the interaction of these trends has been delineated in detail. The foremost elements of this pattern are the growth of indigenous American church organizations as a contribution to American self-reliance, the role of denominational groups as vehicles of political partisanship, the emancipation of the layman in the time of the Great Awakening as the origin of political self-assertiveness, and the replacement of religious leaders by secular leaders. These developments have been seen as a phase in the alternating current of experience and organization, which pervades the stream of life running from generation to generation. Experience always claims a direct access to reason or revelation, while organization insists on the continuity and stability of institutions. Thus individual experience will always be in conflict with communal organization, and when organization has become stiff and obsolete it will always face the threat of revival and revolt.

Societies with a strong tradition-bound élite may be able to smooth over this alternating current to a palpitating rhythm of renewal from within. However, this is possible only if the ruling élite is open enough to absorb emerging leaders and trends of different strata of the society. A bottleneck, obstructing this process, must lead to explosions.

The British society has provided the best example of such an open élite; but it was nevertheless unable to absorb the Franklins and Smiths, Dickinsons and Ducheess, Muhlenbergs and Alisons, when there was still time. As it is made evident in this study, this could not have been achieved by making Franklin a peer, Dickinson a baronet, Smith and Muhlenberg bishops, and so on. The process by which these men had attained leadership was for the most part different from the way in which their British contemporaries aspired to rank and position. The necessity of vying with each other for support in church and state had compelled these American leaders to adopt attitudes and modes of action distinct from those known in the old world. Their experience had led them away from the forms of organization "at home". The attempts of these American leaders to create an indigenous American Establishment was, however, as futile as the transplanting of the British Establishment. In the 1750's and 1760's, when the ground was prepared for an indigenous American Establishment with army and bishops, colleges and seminaries, a series of adverse events as well as internal diversity and dissension prevented its consolidation. Political issues of the day broke up the coalition of leaders like Franklin, Smith, and Allen and dragged them into different camps. Thus they were unable to plan an American society, fighting instead for the popular vote on political questions of the moment.

The layman and citizen, not the minister and leader, ruled in church and state. Minister and secular leader, in order to be successful, had to use the indirect approach of lining up sup-

port by winning over majorities. These leaders could not divide and rule the masses; instead they were divided and ruled by the masses themselves. Consequently no coherent élite with a group solidarity of its own could develop. In the absence of such an élite, change and evolution could not be smooth but had to proceed in leaps and bounds. Since the masses are inert as well as impulsive, it takes a kind of accumulative effect to make them rise and act. However, once they are stirred, they want to go the whole way; and it is difficult for anyone to stem the tide. The leader produced in such situations is the man who knows how to judge the tide, keeping himself at the top of the wave and avoiding the surf and the inevitable backwash. The Great Awakening was one of these waves, the American Revolution the next one; then followed the Second Awakening, Jacksonianism, and the Civil War, each at an interval of a generation's lifetime.

It is no accident that one of the most triumphant epithets of America's political terminology is the word "landslide". No term can better express the disruptive and impulsive quality of a political society which does not have a coherent and continuous leadership.

An additional factor contributing to this discontinuity has been the constant influx of immigrants, who always remained a self-conscious minority in the first generation until they adapted themselves by leaps and bounds in the second generation. The problem posed by the German immigration into Colonial Pennsylvania has been discussed in this study; similar problems were raised with each new group of immigrants, although no later group was ever as numerous, relatively speaking, as these early German immigrants.

In the absence of a sufficiently homogeneous population and of a coherent leadership, the only stabilizing factor that remained was the norm of the law. Since there were no men who could govern over an extended period of time, it was important to

assert the "government of law and not of men". The implicit temptation is legislative and judicial dictatorship. The ideology of those lawyers who made the American constitution has greatly enhanced the tradition of the legal norm, which is the only public tradition of American political life. And even to this day American civilization is deeply influenced by the decisions of the Supreme Court. The importance of legislation and jurisdiction for the political life was, however, already recognized in Colonial times. The powerful position of the Pennsylvania legislature was one of the most characteristic features of Colonial history. And, as it has been pointed out, John Kinsey, the unique Quaker leader in a period of transition, almost established a judicial dictatorship, since he had realized that in a time of political insecurity, control over the Supreme Court of the province was the safest way to political power.

The legal norm is dynamically related to revolt and revival. The norm is not thought of as an expedient fiction; it is the law of God or of Nature. Therefore it is supposedly self-evident, and every individual can claim direct access to it. Covenant and natural law are owned by the elect; all that is needed is their assertion. Revival restores the assurance of the covenant to the individual soul; revolt achieves the triumph of the righteous cause. Thus the Great Awakening and the American Revolution are prototypes of American experience. However, they are also stages in an evolutionary process. By means of the Great Awakening the idea of the covenant had been freed from its sectarian narrowness; from a communal covenant it had been transformed into an individual covenant. A paradoxical combination of free will and predestination had made this process possible. Under the impact of secularization this belief turned into an ideology of predestined freedom. For this reason the document which begins with the revealing words "When in the course of human events. . . ." became immediately popular.

The revolutionary covenant integrated the diversity of the

individual covenants and thus replaced the communal covenant of old. The state, born out of revolution, became a kind of super-sect, and Dissent became Establishment. However, the dynamic process of the turnover of leadership and of the changing interaction of groups, which was evident in the period of transition between the Great Awakening and the Revolution, did not cease. Most traditions of practical political life in America originated in that period and remain with us even today. But since the time of the Revolution, all events in American history have been interpreted in terms of the normative revolutionary ideology by generations of politicians and historians; and therefore it is often difficult to find out what was actually going on.

A rewriting of American history should therefore proceed along the lines of the alternating current of experience and organization which confronted every generation with a new America of its own. This study has been intended to be a case in point for such historiography. By focusing on two relevant aspects of a thirty-year period, an attempt has been made to portray the general trends of the cultural development.

APPENDIX

1. Deed, concerning the New Building, 1740.*

“Title of the Deed. Declaration of Trust of the New meeting house and Parish school with the Lot of Ground thereby belonging—”

This indenture made 14 Nov.^m 1740 Between E. W[oolley] etc. of the one Part and G[eorge] W[hitefield] etc. other Part. Whereas by Indenture bearing the date the 15th day of September last past between I. P[rice] of Philadelphia and his wife she being the only daughter and Heir of J. C. (?) late of Philadelphia deceased. . . . [Follows account of lease of property at 4th and Mulberry Streets by I.P. to E.W. etc. for 15 Pounds yearly rent; the property may be acquired by E.W. etc. for 300 Pounds within ten years.]

And whereas a considerable number of Persons of different Denominations in Religion have united their Endeavours to erect a large Building upon the Land above described and mentioned to be granted intending that the same shall be applied to the use of a Charity School for the Instruction of Poor Children gratis in usefull Literature and the knowledge of the Christian Religion and also that the same used as a House of Public Worship. And it is agreed that the use of the said Building be under the Direction of certain Trustees viz. that the before G[eorge] W[hitefield] etc.

* Moravian Archives, Box Pennsylvania Controversies.

and other Persons to be appointed by them or the majority of them and the survivors and the majority of such survivors from Time to Time as occasion shall require so that the number of Trustees do not exceed the number of ——— [blank] nor be less than ——— [blank] at any time if it can be conveniently prevented. Which Trustees before named and hereafter to be chosen are from time to time to appoint fit and able schoolmasters and schoolmistresses for the service of the said School and introduce such Protestant ministers to preach the Gospel in the said Houses as they shall judge to be sound in their Principles Zealous and faithful in the Discharge of their Duty and acquainted with the Religion of the Heart and Experimental Piety without any Regard to those Distinctions or different Sentiments in lesser matters which have to the scandal of Religion unhappily divided real Christians etc. Now this Indenture witnesseth that they the said E. W[ooley] etc. for the more effectual preserving the Land and the Building thereon and hereafter to be erected for the affirmed use do by these presents declare and agree that the said E. W[ooley] etc. and their Heirs will from henceforth stand seized of and interested in the above granted Land and Premises and the Building thereon erected and to be in trust for the above named G[eorge] W[hitefield] etc. the survivors and survivor of them and their Heirs of such survivors so that for the only proper use benefit and behalf the said G[eorge] W[hitefield] etc. and the survivors etc. . . .

And the said E. W[ooley] etc. . . . covenant and promise to G[eorge] W[hitefield] etc. . . . that they assume the proper cost and charges in the Law and upon the reasonable degree and Demand of the said G[eorge] W[hitefield] etc. . . . will grant and convey in due Form of Law the above mentioned Land and Premises with the appt., and every Part and Parcel thereof to each Person or Persons so to and for such uses and purposes and in such Manners as they the said G[eorge] W[hitefield] etc. or the Major Part of them . . . shall by writing under their Hands or Hand subscribed in the Presence of 2 Witnesses nominated and appointed. And the said E. W[ooley] etc. . . . do further covenant . . . [that they will not do] any act . . . whereby the above mentioned Premises may be charged Incumbered or evicted or whereby the Trust

hereby declared may be conveyed, defeated or made void without the consent of the said G[eorge] W[hitefield] etc. or the Major Part of them. . . .

In Testimony whereof the said Parties to these Presents have interchangeably set their Hands and Seals thereonto, dated the Day and Year first above written

E.W.	[l.s.]
J.C.	[l.s.]
J.H.	[l.s.]
W.P.	[l.s.]

[First set of trustees consisting of the trustees of land and building on the one hand, and the associates of Whitefield on the other hand according to a note in Moravian Archives, Box Pennsylvania Controversies :

Edmond Wooley	George Whitefield
John Coates	William Seward
John Howell	Samuel Hazard
William Price	Robert Eastbourne
	Charles Brockden
	James Read
	Thomas Noble
	Edward Evans
	John Stephen Benezet

According to the same note Benjamin Franklin and Henry Antes became trustees as the result of a by-election after the death of William Seward and Thomas Noble.]

Article No. 10 of the Articles of the Trustees

We do also give our Assent and Consent to the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 17th articles of the Church of England as explained by the Calvinists in their literal and grammatical sense without any Equivocation, whatsoever, we mention therein particular because they are a summary of the foregoing articles. We believe all that are sound in the Faith agree in those whatever other Points they may differ in.

2. Gilbert Tennent to George Whitefield, June 5, 1742.*

You never did in all your life [anything] of such dreadful tendency to the Church of God as your favoring that sect of Enthusiastical Herreticks [Moravians]. . . .

O Brother you will pull down with your one hand what you built with your other while you commend the Moravian deceivers Mr. Brogden [sic] has refused Mr. Blair's Brother to sign the Articles of the New Building in order to preach in it. I hear he wants to introduce the Moravians into it and to have the Articles altered, but whether would not this be to make the New Building a Bable of Confusion and to impose a manifest wrong upon the encouragers of it many of whom have gone upon the plan of the Articles and whether it would not contradict the primary design of this house which was to encourage Calvinistical Doctrines I leave you to determine.

3. George Whitefield to the Trustees of the New Building; Edinburgh, Sept. 19, 1742.†

I hear there are strange confusions in Philadelphia. I cannot say they surprize, stagger me at all, because I am persuaded that our great & compassionate high Priest will overrule them all for good. Let us wait upon him in the spirit of meekness. It gave me some concern my Dear Brethren when I heard Mr. Blair was refused to sign the Articles of the New Building and that there was in all likelyhood a design to alter the Articles to introduce the Moravian Brethren. This I think will be productive of much disorder and make that house a mere Bable. What a value I have for the Moravians is very well known but I think it unjust and as well as imprudent to have a whole set of Articles altered to introduce them. This will be a notorious proof that they are enemies to the Doc-

* Copy in Moravian Archives, Box Pennsylvania Controversies.

† Moravian Archives, copy, Box Pennsylvania Controversies. This letter is not mentioned by Tyerman.

trines of the Protestant reformed churches and shew (whatever they may say to the contrary) they do thrust themselves into other Men's labours. I cannot think the Brethren will put you upon this. If they do I justly charge them of making a breach between them and me, now we are friendly, one towards another. You know my Dear Brethren that house was built for me and other experimental Calvinistical preachers—And now to alter the Articles on such an account is too much like the people turning Calvin out of Geneva, though in a few years after they were glad of their Calvin again. I am persuaded such a procedure will hurt the common cause. It is by no means proper that two sets of men should preach in the same place unless they are agreed in all points of Doctrine and manner of preaching. It will be better to have different place(s) of preaching as we have in London. This may be done and yet a sweet amiable Christian fellowship kept up amongst each other. The Moravians in some things greatly err notwithstanding I love them in Bowels of Jesus Christ and I think if they are truly disinterested they will not desire to preach in the New Building or have the Articles altered. The Count sent word He did not use to preach without my leave. I answered I would consent if the other Trustees would, but thought it best not to preach till I came over. This is my opinion now.

4. Charles Brockden to Thomas Noble, July 31, 1743.*

Dear Brother Noble,

Brother Evans communicating the contents of yours to him with Mr. Whitefield to the Trustees I was for a Moment at a loss what to determine, but turning to the words of the day viz. 28 instant I found it All are Yours and You are Christ's. I come to this Resolve not to be anxious about the matters concerning the Building or Brother Whitefield or any other thing, as indeed I formerly thought on the like occasions. Can we commit the salvation of our Souls to our Saviour? and will we not trust him with lesser matters

* Moravian Archives, Box Pennsylvania Controversies.

or is Mr. Whitefield of so great consequence that our Saviour cannot carry on his work on Earth without him? Far be the thought from any of us. It's clear that our dear Lord useth him to rouze and awaken but to build up and establish he makes use of other Labourers. Whatever becomes of the Building of our Interests, Estates bodily Health or any other thing which we call ours, let us approve ourselves faithful to him whose we are and he will bring about such things as we poor Dust can't achieve by all our Powers. I admire Mr. W[hitefield]'s letter of the 20. 7th should be so long in coming to your hands. I can't concur with you in secreting it from the rest of the Trustees we should think we had cause to complain of them for such usage. Mr. W[hitefield] seems quite to mistake the nature of the Trust concerning the New Building whose use is declared to be Catholick not Calvinistick. He also exceeds the limits of his trust if he thinks to appoint schoolmasters against the minds of the other trustees or without them as though that were his particular Prerogative or Province. I had formerly thought of conveying to Posterity an Eulogium on Mr. W[hitefield] engraven on a Copperplate to be hid in the wall of that house. But I desisted lest it should offend the Lord and I wish in my heart the Splendour of these outward things may not too much affect the heart of the dear man.

I think then subscribing the Articles gives no one a right to preach in the New Building but the Persons being introduced by the Trustees and for my own part I never introduced any save Mr. Whitefield and I think none have been introduced according to the Nature of our constitution and that though a person were so introduced yet for a sufficient cause shewn the Trustees may forbid his Continuance. If the Trustees have any authority at all which I doubt they have not but the Proprietors and contributors only. Therefore were it practicable the only way would be to find out who they are and how much each person contributed and the use and design they intended and who shall be the Trustees to direct the uses which perhaps might be the way to open a Door for the Bishop of the Diocese to appoint a Clerk. In short we are shut out of Doors at present and I see no way yet but was for leav-

ing it till Mr. W[hitefied] should come. We might indeed forbid their proceeding in going on to lay out any more money on the Building or in the Burying there which I never liked. Or to forbid such preachers as we think not orthodox. But if we should and they in Possession should deny our Authority what shall we answer? If they object that we nominated ourselves to the Trust and were not of the nomination of the Proprietors. So far as a Trustee is Proprietor or hath contributed to the expense of the Building so far he hath an undoubted right and may recover by law unless such Trustee have tied up his own hands by subscribing the Articles which may perhaps determine him according to a law of this Province about Enabling Religious Societies to buy hold and enjoy Lands, Tenaments etc.

Thus my Dear Brother I have given you my full opinion about the New Building but not in that good Order and connection that a little more time might have administered. . . .

5. Charles Brockden to Thomas Noble, August 27, 1743.*

There is lately arrived at Philadelphia from England one Mr. Benjamin Dutton who brings Recommendations from several persons on his wife's account as well as on his own and among others from a particular friend of mine. I have not heard him preach but from the little conversation I had with him I believe he has more the form than the Power of Godliness. Nevertheless at the instance of Mess. Hazard and Eastbourne and Brethren Benezet, Evans, Read, and myself we permitted him the use of the New Building under some Restrictions and amongst others his promise not to meddle with the Doctrine of Predestination. For my own part I complied (as did I believe the other three) more for Peace sake than any other consideration. . . .

* Moravian Archives, Box Pennsylvania Controversies.

6. Samuel Finley : "Some Extracts of my Conversation with some Moravians at William Price's house," December 22, 1742.*

When speaking of indwelling sin in believers, one of them, whose name I think was Yarrel asked me if sin had power over Christians and I told him I disclaimed the opinion of its having power over them, though it might rage in them, it could not reign over them—he asserted that he had never been overcome by any sin, since he knew Christ. I then scrupled whether he ever knew him at all, he constantly affirmed he did, and was infallibly sure that Christ was everything to him. I asked some further evidences of it how he knew it to be so, his proof was only a redoubled affirmation that he had the witness & felt the blood of Christ brought home to his heart. He asked if sin ever overcame me I told (him it) did against my will & desire,—he told me I did not know Christ seeing it was so and he believed it was so—I told him I did not resent, neither was I shocked at his words,—he affirmed that sin was no trouble to him, for he had no Conflicts with it, but always trod it under foot with ease by the blood of Christ and that Christ never left him, but he could always see into the heart of Christ : several of them affirmed the same, that none knew Christ that had any Conflict with Sin . . . that none were true Christians whose heart condemned them for any sin . . . all affirmed that Paul speaks of an unconverted person throughout the 7 Chap. of his Epistle to the Romans & that . . . there's sin in a Christian, yet there is none in his heart, they acknowledged that a Christian might have trouble from the Devil & World but none from Sin or the flesh for that there was no principle of flesh in them—they all seemed to think it sufficient reason to conclude that I knew not Christ because I asserted the Contrary of what they spoke and acknowledge that I had bitter conflict with sin and found my case to be the same as Paul describes in Rom. 7 as well as 8 Chap. they supposed that these two chapters and consequently my case were not reconcilable.

I strove to convince [th]em from manifold scriptures that they

* Hazard Family Papers Miscell./Finley. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

did not know the life of a Christian because the Christians course was compared with the strongest bodily Exercises, as running, wrestling, fighting, even to agony; striving, pressing etc. all the answers which they generally gave was that it was so with them before they knew Christ but that now all these struggles with the flesh was over & they knew it to be so, were sure of it. They would readily after this manner oppose their own supposed attainments to all such Scriptures. O my Soul come not thou into their Secrets, unto their assembly mine honour be thou not united.

The Persons names present were the above named Yerral & his wife, Edward Evans, William Price, & his wife, mother, Polly Evans, Bruce & 3 or 4 other Moravians whose name I knew not. The persons who chiefly spoke to me were Yerral & his wife, Bruce, & Edward Evans.

7. Samuel Finley to Samuel Blair, January 7, 1742.*

... my Duty call me to ... declare what I knew of the Moravians for as much as I knew you are in the midst of Temptation by means of them. ...

I hope to see Brother Noble [rescued] from it. ... only a few days have passed since I've seen all the matter clearly. ...

8. Samuel Blair to the Moravians, March 14, 1742.†

Sr.

Since the arrival of the Brethren of your Communion to these parts of the World many and various have been the reports of their Principles and Sentiments in religion, some of us at heart

* Hazard Family Papers Miscell./Finley. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† Hazard Family Papers Miscell./Blair. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

are not fully satisfied as to what are their real opinions in matters of religion. I speak not only of myself singly but of the whole Community also desiring to be rightly and fully informed of the same, we do not see at present any more proper Method for that purpose than a free & full Conference with some of you on that head & therefore unless you on your parts conclude to refuse, such a Conference with us (which I think you ought not I hope you will not) my Brother

William Tennent and I do agree if the Lord will to meet at Philadelphia with perhaps a few others of our Brethren the 30 day of this present March in order to converse with such of you as your Brethren shall think fit to appoint. I hope you will communicate this proposal to others of your Brethren & that it will be concurred with if it be not concurr'd with pray give us notice with all speed that we may not take the Trouble of Journey in vain. Such as may be appointed to discourse with us may meet us at Mr. Hazard's in Philadelphia. . . .

9. Copy of a letter of Rev. L. Nyberg to Rev. Brycelius on the intended Lutheran Consistory in Philadelphia, Spring, 1745.*

As far as the meeting of the preachers is concerned which was held last Monday at the Swedish Church at Wicaco, I am rather ashamed that I did not rely on the Saviour for I did not think it would end so well. . . .

After I had preached in Muehlenberg's Church last Sunday I and the other preachers met at the strange Peter Kock's place. There I heard in the beginning a good deal of invectives aimed at my address. Finally we were supposed to sit down around a large round table, Mr. Tranberg, myself, Naesmann, Muehlenberg, Wagner, and then the merchants Sleidorn and Kock. They had got rid of Stiver by devious means. Kock commenced with a great oration and long preamble but there was nothing to it. But it seems

* Moravian Archives, Box Pennsylvania Controversies. Original in German.

he wanted to say that he would like to see all Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania agreeing on matters of ceremony, and to this end he had long since hoped that the ministers would discuss this point at a synod etc. Tranberg said he agreed. Naesman began to maintain with great eloquence that an official consistory should be established which would have a President, who should assume his office by holding a disputation. . . . He added specifically that the office of the President should remain with the Swedish. Kock opposed this plan immediately because he had arrived at another plan with the Germans before the meeting, and had agreed that Muehlenberg should be the head of this reformed body. On this issue they got into a fight which lasted more than one hour. After they had finished without coming to any conclusion, it was my turn. I said I had thought that this meeting was held in the honor of God and for the edification of the community. I for my part believed that Mr. Tranberg would have been the most likely person to call for such a meeting since he had been in this country for the longest time, and that I doubted whether it was Mr. Kock's office at all to convene a meeting of ministers, furthermore I would find it inadvisable to join an association which also included a minister from a suspect university since I assumed that Mr. Muehlenberg had studied at Halle and had learned his nice morals there. This was like a firebrand thrown into straw. Muehlenberg twisted his eyes in Halle fashion and began to feel rather badly. I added that I would protest against all supervision since neither I myself nor my congregation should be subject to any unnecessary subordination.

Then Muehlenberg had his go, and asked me with a devout Halle mien that I should take to heart the miserable situation of this country where there are so many sects and the congregations are so greatly diminished . . . and that all eyes were directed toward us and toward what we would resolve at this our synod. I said . . . although I am not in the least interested in the establishment of a consistory I will nevertheless stay with you in order to see what a miscarriage will be produced since the mothers have so many pains at its birth. . . .

For the first it was proposed that a uniformity should be estab-

lished in matters of ceremony and many other such silly questions appeared which I would not even think worth the paper. Then came the knot: Whether the Moravian Brethren should be acknowledged to be in the same Communion with us after the Augsburg Confession etc.

When this question came up it was already 2 o'clock and past midnight and therefore we retired and promised to meet the following Monday (next morning) again at Wicacos. In the meantime I had an opportunity to talk to my Elders (one of whom is completely convinced of the truth of the Gospel) and I told them that it was the intention of these people to establish their authority in Pennsylvania and that Kock was going a-begging for his sick mother (the Swedish Lutheran Church) or that there was a plan to staff the whole country with Pietist ministers from Halle who would preach how they should be respected. I said I would never consent to it, because I know that their intentions are not sincere, and although Kock and Sleidorn will give a big dinner at Wicacos in order to get the votes of the farmers and Elders, I would not sell myself for a dinner. They promised to back me up. We convened in the church. Tranberg first preached a sermon on Thy Kingdom come. Then Muehlenberg sat down at a table as if to write the minutes of the meeting, we sat down in the preacher's chairs and the whole church was full of Elders. But except for Christina and Wicacos none, from other places, had followed Kock's invitation. The first question was put by Tranberg concerning the ceremonies. Naesman wanted to sing in front of the altar but the Germans did not want to have anything of that sort. It was rather curious to listen to. Everybody insisted on his own point of view. Then Naesman asked Muehlenberg, why did you sit down taking minutes, we do not need a recorder; this is not a consistory, consequently we do not need anybody taking notes. We only want to discuss matters. I said that I would stick to the order which I had made; immediately two Elders rose and said, What our Pastor does is all right.

Then we came to the question about the Moravian Church. I had told Tranberg in advance what he should say, viz. that he had written to the Archbishop (of Sweden) and that he would accept the Archbishop's verdict whenever he would receive it. Naesman

got up and stammered, he could not get along with the German language and the English language did not work out correctly either, and although he talked for a quarter of an hour nobody could guess what he was talking about. Then it was my turn. I began in this way. Mr. Muehlenberg! Since you have put up this question for discussion I want to know whether you are aiming at a particular individual or whether you want to consider the question in general. I did not get any answer to this question. Thereupon I got up and said in a very loud voice: Although I do not recognize anybody's authority here who could demand an answer from me, and although this whole meeting appears to me to be rather ridiculous, I will nevertheless help some simple souls out of their ignorance . . . although I do not have any further connection with the Moravian Brethren than that I belong to the general Christian church.

. . . I have read Count Zinzendorf's Confession of Faith, sent to Frederick, King of Sweden, and written according to the articles of the Augsburg Confession against which there had not yet been any writings by the Swedish clergy. His writings (Zinzendorf's) are bought, read and loved by many in Sweden without any suspicion and prevention. . . .

At that point Muehlenberg had had enough of it and he finally let out his lightnings at high speed: I will prove by a letter that they [the Moravians] are deluders. He produced a slanderous letter and read it to the meeting. I asked him who had signed this letter. He said it is a Professor Frank at Halle. I said, Did you also read the writings of Professor Hudius and the response of the Consistory of Tuebingen concerning the Brethren? I immediately produced an extract of these writings and added that they had been received very graciously by the Kings of Denmark and Prussia. Peter Kock interrupted me and held a long discourse in English and wanted to prove that all these were lies and that he could prove their faults. The people who were standing around were completely flabbergasted at this discourse. I continued: As far as I am concerned I did not believe that the Archbishop of Upsala would have received dear Arvin Gradin in such a polite manner, and the Archbishop Erich Alstrin would not have opened to him

the main church at Stockholm, and Imperial Counsellor Count Cederstrom would have even less attempted to make him (Gradin) royal court preacher if the doctrine and faith of the Brethren were not pure. And since the Archbishop Erich Penzelius did not order me to hate them or to persecute them although Peter Kock had complained about them in writing, and since nobody had asked [me] to resist them, I do not want to offend them. However I may say this, that when I was ordained a priest, Bishop Jacob Benzeliuſ warned me against all Halle writings and priests and therefore I have good cause to be on my guard against the Hallensians. With regard to the Moravians, on the other hand, I had no orders. Now Muehlenberg produced his credentials and with a trembling hand and a trembling voice he asked me to examine him. I continued my discourse. . . .

Kock made another attempt to get me, but since I asked him that he should not think that he had greater insight than the Archbishop of Sweden, and that he should rather be content with his profession as a merchant, he became very angry, sat down and did not say a word. Sleidorn jumped out of the door. Muehlenberg shut up and Wagner, Naesman, Tranberg, Stiever were pale and the whole congregation stood at attention. The end was that nothing was resolved and instead of their making me suspect, Muehlenberg became suspect. Look how the Lamb of Zion wins. . . .

At my departure from Philadelphia P. Kock was very polite and Naesman wept and kissed me and asked me to be his friend.

10. Preaching Schedule of the Moravian Missionaries Rauch and Schnell—June-July.*

Jun 22 10 AM	Schnell at Modencreek [Muddy Creek]; Rauch at Coventry
Jun 24 11 AM	Rauch at Modencreek
Jun 28 11 AM	Schnell at Leonhardt Bender's, 4 miles from Lancaster via Conestocke [Conestoga]

* Moravian Archives, Missionary Diaries Box R.

Jun 29 10 AM	Schnell at Jacobi Church at Warwick; Rauch at Heidelberg and 3 PM at Tulpehocken
Jul 1 11 AM	Schnell at Mühlbach and Rauch at Math. Teiss'
Jul 2 11 AM	Rauch at the Swatara and Schnell at Peter Krueger's
Jul 6 11 AM	Schnell at Modencreek; Rauch at Tonegal; Meurer at Quitopshuelle
Jul 9 11 AM	Rauch at Warwick and Schnell has a singing-hour in the evening at Lancaster
Jul 13 10 AM	Schnell at Tonegal; Rauch at Warwick, and at 3 PM at Leonhardt Bender's

On Monday, if we are allowed to do so, I shall go with Brother Leonhardt [Schnell] across the Susquehanna and see how it is with the Lutherans and Reformed there

Jul 22	Schnell at Warwick at 10 AM; Rauch at Leonhardt Bender's at 1 PM
Jul 23 1 PM	Rauch at Modencreek and Schnell at Tulpehocken
Jul 25	Schnell at Elsass 11 AM; Rauch at Oley at 10 AM
Jul 27 10 AM	Schnell at Coventry; Rauch at Schippach at Geo. Merkel's
Jul 28 11 AM	Schnell at Georg Friederich's
Jul 29 10 AM	Schnell at Schippach at Merkel's
Jul 31 10 AM	Rauch at Germantown

[Schedule for Rauch only, 1747]

Jun 21	Shall preach at 11 AM at Warwick and at 3 PM at Lancaster
Jun 23	Shall preach at 11 AM at Tonegal
Jun 24	I shall preach at the Swatara at 11 AM
Jun 25	I shall preach at 11 AM at Peter Krueger's
Jun 27	I shall hold a meeting at Muehlbach at 10 AM
Jun 28	I shall preach at Heidelberg at 10 AM
Jun 30	I shall arrive at home in Bethlehem

11. Gilbert Tennent to Rev. Stephen Williams, Longmeadow,
1757. [?]*

... I rejoice to hear that my poor labours have been of any service to any in New England ... as to that particular you mentioned in yours [viz.] of laymen being sent out to Exhort & teach, supposing them to be ... Converts I cannot but think if it be encouraged and continued it will be of dreadful consequence to the Church's peace and soundness in principle. I will not gainsay but that private person [s] may be [of] Service to the Church of God by private humble paternal reproach and Exhortations, and no Doubt it is their duty to be faithful in those things. But in the mean time if Christian prudence and humility do not attend their essays they are like to be prejudicial [sic] to the Churches wellbeing. But for Ignorant Young Converts to take upon them authoritatively to Instruct and Exhort publickly tends to introduce the greatest Errors and the greatest anarchy and confusion.

The ministers of Christ should be apt to teach and able to convince Gainsayers, and it is Dangerous to the Poor Church of God when these are novices ... whatever Zeal be pretended ... I know young Zealots are apt ... to undertake what they have no proper qualification for and thus [through] their impudence and Enthusiasm the Church of God suffers. Dear Brother, I think all that fear God should rise up and crush the Enthusiastick Cockatrice in the Egg. Dear Brother the times are Dangerous we living [may see] the reviving of God. ... The Churches in America and elsewhere are in great hazard of Enthusiasm and we have need to think of ... withstanding the beginnings. There is a late sect come unto this part of the country called Moravian Brethren whose principles are a confused medley of Rank Antinomianism, Arminianism and Quakerism, they are the most subtle plausible sect that ever I saw and are like to do much mischief here. Pious people where they go, do generally divide ... this way seem to ripen fast for a Storm faithful ministers are here brought to the Bar and to be condemned though Innocent. May Zion's king protect his Church. ...

* Gratz Collection Box 25, Case 8. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

12. Letter of Schlatter to Thomas Penn*

Written at the Hague : June 12, 1750.

The subject on which I have the honour to write to you at present is interesting to you, both as a Christian and as a Sovereign, because it relates to the advancement of Religion on the one hand, and cannot but contribute to promote the flourishing and increase of your Colony, on the other. . . .

You will perceive by this, honoured Sir, that this letter is relative to what I had the honour of communicating to you at London, with respect to the state of the German Reformed Congregation in Pennsylvania—and you will (no doubt) have received some time ago, a letter from Mr. H. B. Hoedemaker one of the ministers of the Hague to the same purpose.

The project that is happily afoot here to attempt raising a fund by a general election which might enable us, to introduce some discipline and order among the German Reformed Churches in your Colony, and to furnish them with a proper number of Pastors, appear to the Clergy in the country worthy of the countenance and encouragement of such as have the cause of the gospel and its propagation at Heart; and tho' necessitious condition of many Churches within the Jurisdiction of their own Synod, and upwards of 100 Churches in Germany and other places whom they help and assist, might in some measure justify their backwardness in promoting a collect in these provinces, for a body so little related to them, as are the Germans in Pennsylvania, yet they seem willing, after examination of this case, to exert their zeal in this matter, and if you, Sir, would but condescend to them, that you interest yourself in this Affair it would have a mighty influence. . . .

This the Dutch Synod Deputies beg leave humbly to expect from your known generosity and goodness and also that you will graciously be pleased to take into your hands the money that shall be collected for the fund, that they may have ample security for its being surely placed, and the customary interest viz. six per cent regularly distributed, according to their Directions by such a

* Penn official correspondence. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

number of our Coetus as they shall appoint commissioner for this purpose.

I must assure you, Honoured Sir, that the large body of Germans that inhabit your territory are in danger of growing savage, if there are not some quick methods taken to reclaim them : the want of a regular ministry, and of the instructions, that are administered thereby, has such a desperate influence upon their morals, that they must in such a situation, by becoming bad men, become also very bad and troublesome subjects, of which we have some fatal instances already. The Annals of the German history prove this truth, by a number of extraordinary revolutions their uncultivated tempers has often made Sovereigns tremble on their thrones, because it was often attended with Rebellion and Revolt. Now by the introduction of an orderly discipline and ministry, which is the end of the fund in question the instructions of religion being regularly administered [by] Pastors not entirely dependent upon them—and the motives to virtue being properly inculcated, the fatal effects of ignorance and vice may thro' the blessing of God be happily prevented : and many made good subjects, who at present can scarcely be called men.

I need not inform you Honoured Sir of the happy effect that this may also have towards the increase of your Colony, as it will be an additional motive to numbers of people to go there, when they find that they can be edified by a Popular ministry, and as it is not altogether improbable that many families may some time or other think of removing thither even from this very country. The want of what we are endeavouring to Bring about, would be sufficient to hinder them.

And when this fund were once settled, it might in progress of time enable us to send missionaries among the poor Indians, a practice in which the French undermine us by their intrigues and zeal to make Proselytes among the six Nations, and by which the Colony must at the end inevitably suffer; and of this very sentiment numbers of worthy members of the Synod are.

I might offer Honoured Sir, many more considerations which would naturally interest you in this present project, but as your own wisdom and discernment will suggest to you, all I have here

said and much more I shall cease to fatigue your patience, and only leave humbly to assure you that all that I thus take the Liberty to represent to you is dictated by my zeal for the cause of Religion, on the one hand, and the interest of your Colony of which I am a subject, on the other this is the end of my voyage and of all my labours, upon which I hope you will cast a favourable eye, and as a speedy answer will be of the highest importance to promote the whole affair in these provinces, permit me Honoured Sir Earnestly to beg you would be so very good to favour me with a letter by first post, I presume to beg I may have the honour to be remembered in the most respectful manner to the Honourable Mr. Richard Pen your worthy Brother and to Good Mr. Hokely.

Allow me the honour of Subscribing myself with most profound respect—

Honoured Sir

Your

most obedient humble servant

Michael Schlatter VDM

13. Dr. Thomas Graeme to Thomas Penn, November 6, 1750.*

The present clamor of a great many people here of all Ranks, Friends as much as others, is that the Dutch [i.e. Germans] by their numbers and Industry will soon become Masters of the Province and also a majority in the legislature. . . . The late instance of a tumultuous Election in [the] New County of York is adduced as an instance of their disposition and manners. . . .

[speaking to Governor Hamilton about the danger of the Dutch getting a majority in the legislature]

I replied that there was an easy way to prevent it, and seemingly to please the Dutch too, . . . I told him he might observe that the

* Penn official correspondence. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

legislature in Errecting the two late Countys allowed them only two Members each, and that upon the division of the Countys of Philadelphia and Bucks, which was also much wanting, if they brought the division line sixteen or eighteen Miles to the Southward of Reading and that of Bucks as far to the Southward of the Forks, and to each County two members they would by this division comprehend to a trifle the whole body of the Dutch and consequently forever exclude them from becoming a majority in the assembly, to allow Lancaster, York and the Two not yet appointed Countys to send all Dutch it would make but Fo[u]r Members in 38, and to this if the assembly would be induced to add Two more to the City of Philadelphia it would still strengthen the Scheme.

Mr. Hamilton said he had considered it long as a subject of great importance, and had fallen on the very same thought as the best expedient for preventing the Evil in Prospect yet I told him it ought to be done in time and with privacy in regard to the Institution, for the Dutch might soon discover which way this would operate, he in this readily agreed.

14. Governor Hamilton to Thomas Penn, November 18, 1750.*

The law restraining the importation of too many passengers in one ship . . . arose entirely from the principal Men of the Germans here on account of a prodigious mortality on board some of the ships . . . being packed so close together . . . one single ship having taken on board in Holland Nine hundred people of which more than 200 perished before the arrival here. . . .

It is well known they are an ignorant sordid people & for the sake of saving a Pistole would deny themselves any Conveniency, though ever so necessary for their Health. . . . I am of [the] opinion they should in some measure be restrained from throwing away their lives so ignorantly and foolishly as they were used to do. . . .

No man is more sensible of the Benefits that accrue to this Province from the Industry of these People than myself, or would

* Penn official correspondence. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

be better pleased with the speedy settlement of this by persons who understood our Laws and our Language. But these People do neither nor will they for a long time to come, and yet they are become the most busy at all Elections which they govern at pleasure in almost all the Counties of the Province with a degree of Insolence heretofore unknown to us; And as it is [the] nature of Ignorance to be allways in Extremes, the Germans from being the most abject Slaves at home are upon their coming hither more licentious and impatient of a just government than any others, in consequence thereof we may allways see the most turbulent and seditious of the people chosen into the assembly. They are likewise very vile in their Morals—there was the last spring a knott of six or seven of them apprehended for coining Dollars and prosecuted in the Supreme Court and though the Fact was not only prov'd by others but confessed by themselves yet Mr. Kinsey whose great dependence was upon them for his Election, got them excused for trifling fines. . . . In two or three instances of murder committed by them [Kinsey] thought it worth his while to make a sacrifice of innocent blood for the sake of his vile Popularity, for which may God forgive him. But the motives of his conduct are now discovered He had got himself so involved in the Loan Office, that he knew he must be ruin'd if ever called to account and was therefore obliged at all occasions to secure a Majority of the Members in his favour which was only to be done by the Dutch votes, and therefore he set himself up for their head & Protector on all occasions. . . . What I have said with respect to the Germans doth not proceed from any dislike . . . but rather to express my Concern at that unhappy Act of Parliament which invested them with the rights of Englishmen before they knew how to use them by which means, as they undoubtedly will in a while have the wealth & power of the Province in their hands, they may either make a bad use of it themselves or devolve it on some Demagogues, who may thereby be able to give the Government perpetual uneasiness.—Israel Pemberton told me the other day that Caspar Wister, whom I remember wheeling ashes about this Town is now worth £60,000.

15. Christopher Schultz on elections, September 28, 1752.*

The good and well meaning inhabitants of Berks County who have been greatly pleased by the conduct and good manners of previous sessions of the assembly in troublesome times are now highly displeased since they find themselves deprived of 7/8 of their former right to elect capable men as their representatives in the assembly. They apprehend that in future dangerous times they may be easily overruled in this way as far as good elections, the welfare of the province and the guarantee of the present laudable constitution are concerned, and that they, on the contrary, may be forced to accept such matters which are against their conscience and against their present valuable privileges. For this reason . . . they think that any propertied and capable Freeholder of this province should have equal participation and equal rights in the election of the members of the legislature of this province. This they deem to be not only natural but also extremely necessary for the preservation of our dearly beloved liberties. And since all good Patriots in Philadelphia and other Counties have to admit . . . that the said inhabitants have contributed to the best of their knowledge with great steadfastness, eagerness and unanimity to the encouragement of good elections . . . which we have maintained by God's grace at times when it was rather difficult [these Patriots] must necessarily be rather distressed (and this they really are) at the fact that their good neighbors and faithful supporters are weakened to such an extent and in such an important point. It remains to be hoped that a future assembly will foresee such consequences and take care that such a breach may be healed and that our future constitution may be guaranteed, to the pleasure of all Patriots and of all those who have migrated to this country under great danger and expense because they hoped to find refuge to escape the suppression of their conscience. Many will testify to the truth of what is said here in case it should be demanded. God preserve us.

Christoph Scholtze

* Schwenkfelder Library, folder: Elections. Original in German.

[added]

All free inhabitants are requested to think about this matter and a dozen of them should go to the speaker of the assembly. He also should be presented with this address or something of that sort so that he should keep it in mind. It might be objected that the new counties have the same right as the previous ones to choose representatives which will take care of their interests. To this it should be replied that as far as this point was concerned there was no reason to complain: [but] the main attention was directed toward the legislature where those laws are made that apply to everybody in whatever country he may live.

16. Undated manuscript, Franklin's consideration of Peter Collinson's proposals. Probable date: May, 1753.*

With regard to the Germans I think methods of great tenderness should be used and nothing that looks like a hardship im-

* The passage quoted here is taken from an undated, unsigned, and hitherto unidentified manuscript, Penn official manuscripts, VIII, 287, Hist. Society of Pennsylvania. There is enough evidence that the text is Franklin's (e.g. the direct reference to his essay on the Peopling of Countries). The proposals referred to in the letter can be easily identified as being those of Peter Collinson. A comparison of this letter with a letter written by Franklin to Richard Jackson on May 9, 1753, leads to the conclusion that this letter to Collinson must have been written at about the same time. The text of this letter to Collinson seems to have remained unknown up to the present time, since Alfred Owen Aldridge (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 94, [1950], 391 ff.) contends that the letter of May 9, 1753, was written to Collinson and not to Jackson. As far as the present evidence allows some conclusions, it may be stated that the letter of May 9, 1753, was indeed addressed to Jackson while in another letter to Collinson, which is quoted here, Franklin systematized his ideas concerning the Germans by reviewing the proposals which Collinson had sent to him in a letter of August 12, 1752 (for this date see Aldridge, *op. cit.* p. 394). Collinson seems to have prepared excerpts from both these letters, the one addressed to him and the one addressed to Jackson. Thus a transcript of the letter to Jackson came into the hands of Wetstein while a transcript of the letter quoted here found its way to the Penns.

posed. Their fondness for their own language & Manners is natural; it is not a crime. When people are induced to settle a new country by a Promise of Privileges that Promise should be bona fide performed & the Privileges never infringed; if they are how shall we be believed another time when we want to people another Colony? Your *first* proposal of establishing English schools among them is an excellent one, provided they are free schools and can be supported. As your Poet Young says

The Dutch

Wou'd fain save all the money that they touch

If they can have English Schooling gratis as much as they love their own language they will not pay for German Schooling. The second Proposal of an Act of Parliament disqualifying them to accept of any Post of Trust, Profits, or Honour unless they can speak English intelligibly will be justified by the reason of the thing & will not seem a hardship. But it does not seem necessary to include the children. If the father takes pains to learn English the same sense of its usefulness will induce him to teach it to his Children.

The third Proposal to invalidate all Deeds, Bonds, or other legal Writings written in a foreign language (Wills made on a Man's Death Bed excepted as an English scribe may not be always at hand) is not at all amiss. I think it absolutely necessary, and that it cannot be complained of.

The fourth proposal to suppress all German printing houses etc. will seem too harsh. As will be the fifth to prohibit all importation of German Books. If the other Methods are taken, the Printing houses will in time wear out, as they become unnecessary & the importation of Books will cease of itself.

The sixth proposal of encouraging Intermarriages between the English and Germans by Donations etc. I think would either cost too much, or have no Effect. The German women are generally too disagreeable to an English Eye, that it would require [much] to induce Englishmen to marry them. Nor would the German ideas of Beauty generally agree well with our Women; *dick und starck* that is *thick and strong* always enter into their Description of a

pretty girl; for the value of a Wife with them consists much in the work she is able to do. So that it would require a round sum with an English Wife to make up to a Dutch Man the difference in Labour & Frugality. This method had better be left to itself.

The seventh Proposal of discouraging more Germans to Pennsylvania is a good one, those who are already here would approve of it. They complain of the great Importation & wish they could be prevented. They say the Germans that came formerly were a good sober industrious honest people, but now Germany is swept, scour'd & scumm'd by the Merchants who for the gain by the Freight bring all the Refuse Wretches or Knaves & Rascals that live by sharking & cheating them—The stream may therefore be well turned to the other Colonies you mentioned. And our Land Owners will have no cause to complain if English Welsh & Protestant Irish are encouraged to come hither instead of Germans, which will still continue the rising value of lands and at the same time by mixing with our Germans restore by Degrees the Predominancy of our Language etc.—Nor would the British Subjects be missed at home if my opinions in the Paper I formerly sent on the Peopling of Countries are right, as I still think they really are.

17. William Smith to Thomas Penn, April 10, 1755.*

The free schools flourish. Those at Reading, New Providence, Lancaster & Upper Solfort are open. At Easton, York, Vincent Township, Tulpehocken, Oley & Upper Dublin will be begun in a few weeks.

18. William Smith to Thomas Penn, May 1, 1755.

We are now possessed of 18 different Petitions for schools and find little difficulty in obtaining Masters & schoolhouses for all of them.

* Penn official correspondence. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The Calvinist ministry seem now entirely reconciled & have addressed us in the most respectful manner. There still remains some oppositions but they are very inconsiderable. Sauer is little believed in the affairs of the schools & I am told has made many Enemies by his opposition to so good a Design. I believe a Handle will be made of what is said about the Germans in the published state of the Province but it was impossible to leave them out of such a state, as they influence all public measures. I am, however, but little apprehensive of its hurting the society's Design, for the Q—rs are ashamed of their opposition and deny publicly that ever they encouraged Sauer to print against the Design of Anglicising the Dutch, as they are charged in the London Pamphlet. And I believe, if the Dutch were to read it, it might open their eyes. . . .

19. William Smith to Thomas Penn, July 2, 1755.

. . . The people in many places are averse to poor Schlatter, which occasions some little Inconveniences, but when they find us determined to support him, it is to be hoped prejudices may cease.

. . . I had forgot to mention that Mr. Schlatter proposed, that the money to be allowed the Calvinist ministers should be given to their Coetus in the Lump to be divided by themselves. I strongly object to that, & I believe Mr. Schlatter looks unkindly on me for it. But my reasons were these. I apprehend that those ministers we may think most deserving might be thought least so by the Coetus. Nay the very division of the money might be made the means of Quarreling & we should have no check upon the Ministers, & no opportunity of seeing them. I therefore proposed that we as Trustees should pay every minister his Quota with our own Hand; and that the ministers should be told on receiving the same that it was given by the Society for their trouble as Catechists of the free schools, under their respective cares. This will convince the Ministers of our Regard to Religion, and keep them firm to the Interest of the schools, because they think their salary depends entirely on their services among the children, whereas did we either give the money in one Sum, or give it to them merely as ministers, they

give themselves no trouble to forward the schools, nay they might perhaps openly oppose them. But as Catechists we have a right to advise & direct them.

We are just bargaining with Mr. Muhlenberg for the Direction of the Dutch press. Schlatter must not be seen in it, nor yet the Society. We have therefore resolved that the press shall keep Mr. Franklin's name, who is very popular among the Dutch, by his waggon-project. The press will cost dear at first purchase, but he thinks it will answer the end, & more than support itself. . . .

20. Christopher Sauer to a friend [Conrad Weiser], Germantown, September 16, 1755.*

Dear Friend,

I received your friendly letter and sent the answer with the messenger who brought your letter. In the meantime I wonder whether it is really true that Gilbert Tennent, Schlatter, Peters, Hamilton, Allen, Turner, Shippen, Smith, Franklin, Muehlenberg, Brunholtz, Handschuh, etc. do care in the least for the real conversion of the ignorant Germans in Pennsylvania or whether the institution of Free Schools is rather supposed to be the foundation for the subjection of this country, since everybody will pursue his own selfish ends by means of this scheme. As far as Hamilton, Peters, Allen, Turner, Shippen and Franklin are concerned, I know that they care very little either for religion or for the cultivation of the Germans, they rather want the Germans to stick out their necks by serving in the Militia in order to protect the property of these gentlemen. These men do not know about faith or trust in God. Their wealth is their God and it is their only mortification that they cannot compel the people to protect their Gods. Tennent may firmly believe that his religion is the best and if it can be achieved with Schlatter's help that the Germans get English preachers who are paid for, and if such preachers can be produced at Philadelphia or at New Jersey [College], then Tennent will have

* Abraham Cassel Collection, Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pa. Original in German.

honor and Schlatter food and the Germans will unfailingly elect Hamilton, Peters, Shippen, Allen, Turner, etc. to assemblymen in order to please their benefactors. These assemblymen then will make a law with R. H. M. to establish a Militia, to build fortifications, drill soldiers, and to fix a stipendium or salary for preachers and schoolteachers, so that it will no longer be necessary to write letters to Halle pleading for funds of which they are ashamed and are looked upon as liars when these letters come back to the province in print. *Fiat!* thus we all will achieve our ends and there is no better pretext than the *Poor Germans*. I live here, so to speak, at a corner and hear many things that people say. One says: I do not like the idea of having my children taught by means of alms because I do not need to depend on alms and can pay for their education myself. Others say: Where many children come together one child will always tend to learn something bad rather than something good from the other children. I will teach my children myself in reading and writing and I do not like their getting together with other children. Others say: If the German children know how to speak English and get around with the others then they will also want to be dressed according to the English fashion, and it will be hard to get this foolishness out of their heads. Others say: We poor people do not derive any benefit from the alms of the King and of the Society [for the Free Schools] because if they do not put up a schoolhouse or a schoolmaster every ten miles, the *Poor* cannot participate in the scheme, since a child cannot attend a school which is farther away than five miles, otherwise it will be much too great a distance to walk twice a day, and poor people cannot send their children to board with others nor can they afford clothes for their children fit enough to go among the stately people; thus the scheme is only for the rich and for the English. The people are supposed to petition to their own temporal and eternal detriment. I have read an English booklet on the principles of the Free Masons, the 3rd edition, printed in England. In these [principles] I saw the greatest contrast to the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, yes, indeed, the complete prevention of it, and the people who are the instigators of the Free School scheme are Grand Masters, Wardens . . . among the Free Masons and the

pillars of their society. Do you think they have anything else in mind but what they think to be best for themselves?

If they would invite Zuebly* I will confess that I have been mistaken, since if they want to combat the foolishness of sectarian imagination and want to promote truth alone then Zuebly would be one among a thousand [who would be able to do it]. But I fear they are afraid of him because there is a sentence in the pamphlet which runs as follows: "There is nothing they [the Quakers] more fear than to see the Germans pay any regard to regular ministers. Whenever they know any such minister in good Terms with his People, they immediately . . . his character by means of this Printer and distress him *by dividing his congregation and encouraging Vagabonds and pretended Preachers whom they every now and then raise up.* This serves a double end."

When I consider the foundations of the Free Masons as they are described in their booklet which a goldsmith among the Free Masons gave to Siron and which Siron gave to me, I do not know what I should think of Professor Smith's praise of the author and the booklet "The life of God in the Soul of Man". Perhaps he praises it for political or some such reasons.

21. Dr. William Smith to Secretary Peters (being at New York) on the education of Col. Martin's boys and Martin's decision to transfer them to New York.†

What is most useful of Logics they have already acquired. Moral Philosophy, Greek and Latin they continue to read together with two hours (at Mathematicks) every day.

. . . we shall be employed in reading some ancient compositions critically in acquiring the Rules of Rhethoric, and attempting some Imitations of these most finished Models in our own Language. This I take to be the true way of Learning Rhetoric which

* Rev. Zuebly, a popular German Reformed minister preaching in the Southern Colonies.

† Philadelphia, August 18, 1754. Peters Papers. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

I should [engage] to put off till after the study of natural Philosophy, had we any apparatus ready, because in order to write well one should have at least a general notion of the Sciences & their Relations one to another. This not only furnishes us with sentiments but Perspicuity in writing as one Science frequently has Light thrown upon it by another.

[Further items of the curriculum : Elements of Civil Law the Reading of History and the Study of the Ends and Uses of Society the different Forms of Government etc. etc.]

[Reasons against completing education New York] Dr. Johnson only pretends to read Logic and Moral Philosophy . . . should he begin with them again his Logic and Morality are very different from ours.

There is no Matter by his Scheme, no ground of Moral obligation. Life is but a Dream. All is from the immediate impression of the Deity. Metaphysical distinctions which no Boys can understand. . . .

[Further reasons : no teachers for Belles Lettres, no apparatus, no sufficient number of students for academic exercise, etc.]

22. Letter of the Quarterly Meeting [of Friends] of Philadelphia to the Meeting for Sufferings, London May 15, 1755.*

We have the just Grounds for the Hope as it is well known that many have voluntarily declined acting in the executive Powers of Government and some in the legislative as they found themselves incapable of preserving the Peace and Tranquility of their own Minds and steadily maintaining our Christian Testimony in all its Branches; and were there a sufficient Number of Men of Understanding, Probity and moderate Principles proposed for our Representatives in whose Resolution we could confide to preserve our Liberties inviolated we should be well satisfied to have the Members of our Society released from the disagreeable Contests and Controversies to which we are now subjected, but while arbitrary

* Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, Philadelphia, p. 14.

and oppressive measures are publickly avoided by those who desire to rule over us and our country so heartily call upon us to maintain the Trust committed to us, we cannot the most deliberate consideration judge we should be faithful to them, to ourselves or to our Posterity to desert our stations and relinquish the share we have in the Legislation.

The Increase of the Number of the Inhabitants of this Province is now very great and the much greater Part are not of our Society and especially in the back counties yet such is the confidence reposed in us that after the utmost efforts had been used and the Pulpit and Press exercised against us our former Representatives were at our last election chosen throughout the Province by the greatest Majority ever known without accounting the Freemen are foreigners on whose Credulity and Ignorance it has been unjustly asserted that we have industriously and artfully imposed and this was done not only without the Solicitation but in some Instances without the Privity or Approbation of some that were chosen.

And it is remarkable for sixteen years successively more than half of which was time of War a Sett of Men conscientiously principled against warlike measures have been chosen by those, of whom the Majority were not in that particular of the same principle. . . .

23. Israel Pemberton to Dr. John Fothergill, November 17, 1755.*

The Remembrance of many worthy steady Elders, . . . & the assurance of heavenly favours and mercy eminently continued to us, have, I often think, maintained both in the minds of our Friends at a distance & our own, an opinion of there still being the same weighty body of Friends subsisting here, as formerly, but alas! every occasion of difficulty & tryal affords the single eye cause to see that, though the Foundation remains sure & immovable, there are few left among us, who too be moved in times of Floods and

* Pemberton Fothergill Correspondence. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

tempest, and such time, seem now to come upon or very near us. The repeated testimonies that we have of the Brotherly concern and sympathy of our faithful Brethren among you is an addition of real strength to such here, who are likeminded & many others value themselves on so reputable a connection and assistance, more I fear than will have stability & constancy to persist faithfully in maintaining the peaceable Testimony, we have long made profession of if we may judge of the society in general by the conduct of the Representation of the Province little better can be expected, on considering the stations and characters of some of them, who are old in years and profession, there is too much cause to apprehend their example and influence will have a bad effect on others, who may pay more deference than is due to their proceedings so far as a general knowledge can be obtained from the Extracts given us in the publick gazette & intended thee the more particular information their minutes will afford, but am disappointed of the opportunity of doing it as, though two months are expired since the end of their last years sessions, they have not yet published them; the constant employment Franklin has had is said to be the occasion of the delay, but some other cause may without breach of charity be suspected since in the part, which is finished, there appears a minute not trifling consequence, which some of their most intelligent members are positive was never so much as mentioned in the house, & as they have lately been led step by step much further than they would formerly have gone, its most unlikely every contrivance will be pursued to prevent their having it in their power to retreat with any degree of reputations. When I wrote to thee last spring, accompanying our Epistle to the meetings for Sufferings, I was not without some doubts of the consistency of the step just before taken by the house in granting a Sum of money for the New England forces, yet as the majority of them thought themselves at liberty to give money to that purpose and they did it out of a Fund absolutely in their own power, I did not apprehend the members of our society were either individually or collectively authorized to censure their proceedings & as myself and some others were then painfully affected with an apprehension that the virulent design of the writer of the state

of the Province [William Smith] and the imprudence of our Representatives in their addressing the King would subject you to some difficulties for our sakes or might give you cause to apprehend the views or inclinations of the Indians and solid part of the Friends to be different from what they really were, I thought it my duty to take the first convenient opportunity I had, after my return home and acquaintance with these things to propose our application to you, the proposal met with a warm opposition from 2 or 3 valuable Friends, who were fearful of our entering into the vindication of the conduct of the Assembly, but was in a short time unanimously agreed to : to guard therefore against making ourselves answerable for their proceedings and at the same time to say as much as we could in favour of them consistent with Truth and Justice was the design of the writer of that Epistle and thus to engage our Brethrens to serve us with their endeavours to prevent an irreparable breach with the Proprietary towards which the unhappy conduct of our Representatives had manifestly tended : the kind manner in which our application received & the testimonial you have given of your concurrence have fully convinced us, we were right in this pacific attempt, & I should be sincerely pleased that every other concurrence since had contributed to strengthen our hands and desires to promote union and tranquility among us, but a few months have produced a greater and more fatal change both with respect to the state of our affairs in general and among us as a society than seventy preceding years. Our adversary has by the subtle disguises of his serpentine twinings succeeded so far that he may soon appear as a Dragon, whose tail hath already drawn some who were as stars to the earth. . . .

[About bill presented to the Governor]

. . . for myself I thought, as there was no probability of the bill being agreed to by the Governor & as our yearly meeting would fall out before another session we should have an opportunity of then knowing each others minds and of entering into the consideration of so weighty a matter in the most proper way and time—so that I was easy with having expressed to some of the members of the house and particularly to B[enjamin] F[ranklin] my apprehensions of the consequences of such a law and my dissatisfaction

with the indecent virulent terms, in which the several latter messages of his Penning were delivered : he received my remarks with the usual freedom which had ever subsisted between us but paid little regard to them. . . .

When our yearly meeting came on, many weighty matters were brought under consideration, that there was little opportunity for private conference on other matters, most Friends being constantly engaged either in meetings or committees, this being a matter of great concernment did not escape the considerations of many Friends & was proposed for considerations at a meeting of several Committees together, but for want of a previous consultation of opening our minds at first in a more select number, & being straightened for time to wait for the union of . . . spirits which Truth had given us on another like subject, which brought us together, it was judged not prudent to refer the consideration to the first suitable opportunity which might present in the time of meeting, after which it was proposed to the meeting to consider, whether the payment of such a tax under our circumstances would be consistent with our principles and profession or not and sometime spent thereon, but the fears of some, lest a debate on the subject should not terminate to satisfaction & the opposition in the minds of others to have any question made of a matter, in which they thought the example of our predecessors and of our Brethren in England was sufficient to determine us prevented our entering deeply and weightily enough into it and our way to it was foreclosed by some inadverted expression of a Friend of the first rank among us, who being understood in a manner different from what he spoke or intended them, put a stop to any conclusion, & it's to be feared lest a worse impression on the minds of many, that an absolute silence on the occasion would do.

Our general Election on a few days after the meeting was over, when some Friends were desirous of promoting a considerable change of Representatives in this county, but those designed to succeed them not consenting to be chosen in a time of so great perplexity and confusion, many of us declined voting at all and without any opposition our former Representatives were reelected. . . .

24. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, April 25, 1756.*

The City is in infinite distraction all owing to the officers of the Militia puffed up and now solely directed by Colonel Franklin most unseasonably and impolitically promoted to that Rank without any one reason to support the step that I ever heard, and the Church people in general are so poisoned by Franklin that they may prove even worse Enemies to the Proprietaries than the Quakers. I assure you matters are these times worse in the City than ever and the Anti Proprietary Party will gain more ground than ever by means of the Colonel who continues to evidence a most implacable Enmity against the Proprietors.

25.

April 29, 1756.

Franklin went to Virginia . . . regulating the Post but surely he will not be suffered to hold that office especially as he has already begun to make a most cruel use of it in stopping every other Press but his own, none now being willing to print anything that may reflect on him or his Politics least he should make them pay Postage for their Newspapers. It is a truth that Printers have rejected several things proper, reasonable and good and assigned no other reason than that it would displease Mr. Franklin.

[Franklin] . . . has wrote and acted in so insolent a manner of . . . every authority but what is Elective and of the most popular sort.

Two thirds of the Church are gone off from Church Principles and Church Politics in favour of him and his Politics and will at the new Election join the Quakers and chuse for him a set that he may turn and twist as he pleases.

26.

June 1, 1756.

I do not know what turn Politics will take. Mr. Franklin having made a considerable Interest in the Church as I mentioned in my

* Penn official correspondence. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

last letter but what I there said will want Explanation. The Poyson has never reached the Plumsteads, the Ingliss', the McCalls, nor those who live in the South part of the town and applied for a new Church—these even were and always will be friends of good Government, and of the Proprietaries and their Governors, and they have a considerable Interest—but the Old Churchmen Evan Morgan, Jacob Duchee, Thomas Leech and their Friends and Relations are infected. They are mere Franklinists and will go which way he pleases to direct, and some of these are promoted in the Military way and can thence increase their Interest and at the time I wrote my last letters the Military spirit was very high in favour of Franklin, the Captains Officers and Grandiers waiting on him out of Town with their swords drawn as if he had been a Member of the Royal Family or Majesty itself.

27. Christopher Sauer, Jr., September 11, 1761.

As there are many people in a certain county of this province who would like to elect a lawyer from Philadelphia as their representative in the assembly on the next election day, this printer has been asked to admonish these people that they should be more cautious. Such men [lawyers] may be rather harmful to the people in the countryside because what is to their profit is often to the farmers' loss. Reasonable judges have complained for a long time that since these lawyers have got into the assembly, all laws have been made in such a way that lawyers can debate for a long time on every one of them, while in former times laws had been straight and simple with nothing much to discuss about. . . . And many people are surprised that people in the distant counties are so much in love with the city-people and prefer to elect them to the assembly. . . .

* *Pennsylvanische Berichte*. Original in German.

28. Christopher Schultze to Israel Pemberton, April 4, 1764.*

Beloved Friend Israel Pemberton,

I have been hindered by several circumstances to see Philadelphia (this last winter) and pay Thee a visit to inform myself how Friends bear up with the Care, Insurrections, and Diffamations from an unruly and wicked People in the Country who neither know nor understand what they do or say, acting in both parts against the Rules of God and Man.

And now we hear that such a misunderstanding breaks out in our Legislature as [to] threaten a Revolution in our Constitution that our Charter should be delivered up in the King's hands in which case if such as have transported themselves with their Families hither, in hopes for a full and free Enjoyment of the celebrated Privileges of the said Charter should be deprived of the same especially of the First Article of the Freedom of Conscience and instead of that be subjected to Episcopal Jurisdiction and Military Actions it would be very hard and striking to the Heart. It is true Quakers and Unitas Fratrum [Moravians] are protected in their Religions by Laws of the Realm of Great Britain, but what should be our Case and other Societies of the like Principles who have so far trusted themselves under the Wings of this Government erected and constituted for the best time by Quakers? Therefore we earnestly desire and admonish you in brotherly love to use all possible means to prevent the Destruction and depriving of religious Liberty in any respect so laudably planned by your Fathers, for the Benefit of all settlers whose worthy Followers we hope you will approve yourselves in taking care that their Intention be not violated and what alterations should be made or agreed to it may be with Safety of Conscience for every Individual of this Province. And since you are the people who made the first agreement for the Settlement of this Province your Consent or non-consent to any alteration must consequently be of very great weight. And though we trust your best endeavours in these critical circumstances will not be wanting nevertheless we thought to encourage you a little with these few Words,

* Schwenkfelder Library, Christopher Schultze.

the freedom of which you will indulge from your Fellows in Sufferings.

Israel be so good and let me have more account how the above mentioned affairs stand, if it can be.

I am with true love thy obliged Friend C.S.

29. Samuel Purviance Jr. to Colonel James Burd, Philadelphia, September 10, 1764.*

The News which I brought from Lancaster of the Quakers and Mennonites having made a powerful Party to thwart the Measures your Friends have so vigorously pursued of late for thrusting of the Assembly those men who have lately endanger'd our happy constitution by their precipitate Measures has given great Concern to all your friends here, and very much dampened our hopes which were very sanguine that there could be no danger of carrying the Elections in your County to our Wishes : This unfavourable prospect has induced several Gentlemen here to think that in order to prevent our being defeated at so critical a time when measures are taken to bring about a general change through the whole Province, it will be expedient to fall on some alteration of the Ticket lately proposed by few leading Friends and submitted to your consideration, for alteration or amendment against the Borough Election, viz. to put in Eman. Carpenter or Jacob Carpenter Dr. Adam Choan [Kuhn] & Isaac Saunders & John Hayse or Andrew Worhe; The design is by putting in two Germans to draw such a Party of them as will turn the scale in our favour and though by such Measure we must reject M. Ross, yet I am persuaded he has too much regard to the Public Good to be offended at such a measure when taken purely to defeat the Views of our antagonists and not through any disrespect to him : It would be equally agreeable if Mr. Ross came in place of any of the Irish but as their Interest must be much stronger than his, it would be imprudent to offend them by rejecting one of their proposing : I wish the unhappy con-

* Shippen Papers. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

tests at Sheriff could be reduced to two competitors, on our side suppose Col^l Worhe and Samy Anderson, it would unite our Friends to act with more spirit and prevent their hurting the public cause: Our friends in Chester Co[un]ty are very sanguine in hopes of carrying the election and we scarce admit a doubt of it here; we are this day taking measures for Bucks County and hope to make a strong Interest. Franklin and Galloway or at least one of them will be run in Bucks it's said—

Last night John Hunt a famous Quaker preacher arrived from London in order its believed to give Friends a Rap on the Knuckles for their late proceedings, and it's said a Brother of the famous Doc. Fothergill will immediately follow on the same errand, though their great sticklers have by numberless Falsehoods propagated Belief that their Friends at home highly approve their Measures, you may communicate this to any of your Friends,

I am respectfully Sam. Purviance

30. Col. James Burd to Sam. Purviance, September 17, 1759.*

... previous to our Burrough Elections we had an Interview with the People whom we call the Old Side. . . . We endeavoured at this Interview to settle a Ticket with them in Generall for the County to prevent Partys, we made severall overtures to them which they rejected the last was that Isaac Saunders, & Eman^l Carpenter should be certain and we would propose six men to them out of which they should choose one and they should Name Six men to us out of which we should choose One, which four men should be the Ticket we accordingly named one of their Six but they declined taking one of ours upon which we broke up—at the same time we were informed they fixed the following ticket which they put out amongst their People viz. Isaac Saunders, Emanuel Carpenter, James Wright, & James Webb—on Saturday last the day of our Burrough Election we gave Public Notice we were to meet at Crawford's Tavern in this town to settle the Ticket, we met

* Unsigned letter, Shippen Papers. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

accordingly (that is the New Side) we put some People to find out the Old Side if they were met anywhere that if they were in any measure inclined to make a General Ticket they might still have an opportunity on Reasonable terms with this Exception only that Neither of the Two men to be added to Saunders and Carpenter should be Quakers or men whose opinion was in any degree known to be for a change of our Present Government—But these Gentlemen of the Old Side kept themselves so private that we could not find them; upon which we resolved to stand upon our own Bottom and form a Ticket for ourselves which we did accordingly and you have it here inclosed. There were some of our Friends from every Township in the county with us who came to Town on purpose to Form a Ticket and they told us at the same time that whatever Ticket we settled they would carry home with them and that it should be unalterable and that we might depend all our friends in the county would steadily adhere to it.

I am informed today that the Old Side met in Town unknown to us on Saturday evening and settled their Ticket thus Isaac Saunders, Emanuel Carpenter, James Wright, & George Ross.

We have on our side the Lutheran and Calvinist Dutch with many others of the Germans, we think ourselves strong enough for the task we have undertaken and I can only assure you that no stone shall be left unturned on my part to accomplish the Laudable Design—But at the same time I think if our friends in Philadelphia could prevail upon Mr. Henry Kiply [Heinrich Kepple] to write up Circular letters to his friends in the county to join me in the Ticket & those letters warmly wrote it would greatly help our cause and if such thing should be approved off by our friends with you and done I should be glad to have a list of the Peoples Names that Mr. Kiply writes to that I may talk to them upon the subject.

We judge it most propper to leave the Shirriffs Blank—I am glad to observe by yours that there is a good prospect in Chester County, and more so that our affair goes well in your Countys. I hope to hear good accounts of Bucks—I wish friend Hunt good sweeps in his Embassy—. . . .

31. Little Ed Burd to his father, James Burd, Philadelphia, September 18, 1765.

... We have had advice lately of a joyful change in the Ministry, for which the Mob made a Bonfire & burnt an Effigy for our Stamper [J. Hughes], and surrounded his House whooping & hollowing which caused him to load his Arms. I heartily wish that you may be successful in the Ensuing Election, I believe the Quakers will leave out Hughs and Galloway this time. Some think that Bucks will do something but that is uncertain. The Dutch express a great Detestation to Hugh's party. . . .

32. Samuel Purviance to Colonel James Burd, September 20, 1765.*

You may possibly imagine from the general silence with which our political affairs have been conducted this year that perhaps we are relapsed again into the old passive humour of submitting the conduct of public affairs to our former state Pilots & that if we at the Fountain head observe such a conduct you at a distance should follow the same non-resisting plan of your friends in town—

Be assured that nothing is less thought of by us than such a scheme, the matters go on very quietly yet everything is preparing for making a vigorous stand at the ensuing elections and every possible pains has been taken to strengthen and cement our interest in such a manner as to afford us good hopes of carrying every man for both City and County—Our interest is greatly increased amongst several societies who last year were divided in their views, and particularly strengthened by the opposition lately made by John Hughs and his Friends against sending Commission to attend the Congress at New York in order to remonstrate home against the Stamp act. This unpopular action has greatly damp'd their faction, turn'd many of their warm friends out of doors against them and even brought over some of their members in the house

* Shippen Papers. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

to our party by which means they carried the vote; there's great reason to hope this affair will produce the same effects through the country and open the eyes of many who blindly attached to them through party, must now see what destructive measures these pretended defenders of Liberty & privilege are capable of pursuing: I met some of our Friends at Chester Court & there concerted some measures for dividing the Qu——r Interest in that county that our friends may join one party of them, this scheme promises good success, & will I hope be warmly pushed by our friends there: I went lately up to Bucks County in order to concert measures for their Election in pursuance of which we have appointed a considerable meeting of the German, Baptist and Presbyterians to be held next Monday at Meshaming, where some of us, some Germans & Baptists of this place have appointed to attend in order to attempt a general confederacy of the three Societies in opposition to the ruling party. We have sent up emissaries among the Germans which I hope will bring them into this measure & if it can, effects will give us a great chance for carrying matters in that County: could that be carried it would infallibly secure our friends a majority in the house & consequently enable them to recall our dangerous enemy Franklin with his petitions, which is the greatest object we now have in view, & which should engage the endeavours of all our Friends at the approaching election to make a spirited push for a majority in the assembly without which all our struggles here will prove of little service to the public Interest—

The general committee of our society meet this day & on Tuesday next shall finally settle our ticket, which is now all fixed but one man, few of your friends here entertain any hopes of being able to change any of your members this year after failing last year in your spirited attempt; however, I think it mean to submit tamely, or without bearing the testimony against bad men & bad measures, was I to stand alone, I would vote against the enemies of my country.

If you know thoroughly the Methods Mr. Franklin's taking at home to blacken and stigmatize our Society, you would perhaps judge with me that you never had more reason to exert yourself

in order to overset him which we can only do by commanding a majority in the Assembly. I have seen a letter lately from a person of character, that advises his wicked designs against us—The little hopes of success as well as the difficulty of engaging proper persons for the purpose, has discouraged me from attempting a project recommended by some friends, of sending some Germans to work upon their Countrymen—but that no probable means may fail, have sent up some copies of a piece lately printed by Sowers of Germantown to be dispersed & which may possible have some effect—I have received certain advice of a project laid by Menonists to turn Mr. Saunders out of your ticket the only good member you have, I hope it will inspire our people with more Industry to keep him in; the only plan I would recommend is to run Dr. Chune (Kuhn), some other popular Lutheran or Calvinist in Webb's place—

You'll please to make a discreet use of this to any of our Friends : I am with best wishes for a successful election—Sir, your and the publicks sincere well wisher

[P.S.]

as soon as your ticket is agreed on let it be spread through the Country that all your party intend to come well armed to the Election & that you intend if there's the least partiality in either Sheriff, Inspectors or Managers of the Election that you will thrash the Sheriff every Inspector Quakers & Menonist to Jelly & further I would report it that not a Menonist nor German should be admitted to give in a Ticket without being sworn that he is naturalized and worth £50 & that he has not voted already & further that if you discovered any person attempting to give in and vote without being naturalized or voting twice you would that moment deliver him up to the Mob to chastise him, let the report be industriously spread before the Election which will certainly keep great Numbers of the Menonists at home, at the same time have all our friends warned to put on a bold face to every man . . . as if determined to put their threats into execution though at the same time let them be solemnly charged to keep the greatest order and peace. Let our friends choose about two dozen of most

reputable men Magistrate & who shall attend the Inspectors, Sheriffs and Clerks during the whole Election, to mount guard half at a time & relieve one another in spells to prevent all cheating & to administer the oath to every suspicious person & to comitt to immediate punishment everyone who offers to vote twice.

I will engage if you conduct the Election in that manner & our people turn out with spirit can't fail of conveying every man in your Ticket as I am well assured not a third of the Menonists are naturalized, I would submitt this to your consideration, if it's well thought of take your measures immediately. I beg no mention may be made of the author of this, I see no danger in the Scheme but that of a riot which would require great prudence to avoid—

33. William Allen to Thomas Penn, October 21, 1764.*

... no doubt you will hear that we have been able to turn out the two grand Incendiaries in effecting which we had great help from the Lutherans, and Calvinist among the Dutch from their other Sects we had great opposition: we had about half of the Church of England, and the Presbyterians to a man. In the country all but Northampton the Quakers had the address, or I might rather say, craft to delude the Dutch by false storys, so that they, though well inclined to your Government were induced to oppose our friends, and carry the elections against them—they were made to believe that if they changed the Assembly, the Government would be changed.

I must do the Presbyterians that justice that they are much devoted to your Honourable family that they were easily brought to pacifick measures—they one and all throughout the Province said they would never give their votes for the last Assemblymen. . . .

I assured them [the Quakers] that the Presbyterians had no desire to injure them and would gladly compromise their differences and would even join them in any commendable designs for

* Penn official correspondence. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

the public good, but nothing I could say would make any impression on them, they appeared to have so keen a sense of real or imaginary wrongs done them that their anger was not to be assuaged. When I mentioned that Dr. Fothergill, Messrs. Barclay and other eminent friends advised us to pacifick measures, and to heal our animositys their sentiment seemed to have no more weight than our own.

34. William Allen to Thomas Penn, November 12, 1766.*

... The letters of John Hughes and Galloway being copied and transmitted here have been attended with some very good consequences, and have opened the eyes of the honest part of the people that were before deluded; and had it not been for some very injudicious publications, without the knowledge of the most prudent among us, the party opposed to the true interest of the Province would have been thrown out of the Assembly in the last election. But the bitterness of those pieces imbodyed and united those who were before crumbling to pieces; Indeed the serious part of the Friends have acted a very odd part having solicited our people to exert themselves to oppose what they call the incendiaries and disturbers of the peace of the Province, and promised heartily their concurrence in that good work. But when the matter came to a trial they were so intimidated by the scurrility of Franklin's creatures, of whom the greatest part of their young men as well as the pretended Quakers, are composed, or bearing an open division in the society (an argument of no small weight among them). I say, for these and some other reasons, they either chose to swim with the stream, or to remain neuter; which was too much the case of such who appear best disposed among that society, some few only excepted who avowed their sentiments openly who of course were loaded with all the scandalous invectives that party-rage can suggest. ...

We have a plagueing dead weight in restoring the peace to the

* Penn official correspondence. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Government, which is the overweening desire of the Church Clergy in having bishops introduced among us and the desire of theirs induces them to join the Quakers in the election and among the staunch party men of that society there are many zealous advocates for Lawnsleeves in hatred to the Sons of Calvin. You will hardly think this credible, but according to the old saying Ill will will make a man stick his own cow.

If the scheme of the Clergy should take place it will be never as great a matter of contention as the Stamp Act. In this Province and in all the Provinces to the northward of us, the Church of England are not above the fortieth part of the inhabitants. We have seen the copies of some of their petitions that contain scandalous allegations against all dissenters, who are represented as ripe for rebellion. I trust the true old Wiggish spirit among our patriotic ministry will prevent spiritual shackles being laid upon us, since they have been so good as to relieve us from temporal ones. I have no other plot than to preserve the broad bottom establishment received from our Benevolent Founder, which have been constantly supported by his truly worthy descendants. We have by virtue of these advantages outstripped all other colonies in trade and all manner of improvement and the continuance of such blessings we shall begin to be the wonder of the world, and soon rival considerable states in Europe. The last year we had more vessels cleared out of the port than the City of Bristol, and I believe any other port in Britain except London and Liverpool. The number was 738.

35. Christopher Schultze to the Schwenkfelders in Silesia, 1768.*

You can hardly imagine how many denominations you will find here when you are attending a big gathering like that at Abram Heydrich's or Abraham Jaeckel's funeral. . . .

We are all going to and fro like fish in water but always at peace with each other; anybody of whom it would be known that he

* Schwenkfelder Library, Kriebel letterbook. Original in German.

hates somebody else because of his religion would be immediately considered a fool; however, everybody speaks his mind freely. A Mennonite preacher is my next neighbor and I could not wish for a better one, on the other side I have a big Catholic church. The present Jesuit Father here comes from Vienna and his name is Johann Baptista Ritter. He confides more in me than in those who come to him for confession, when he has a problem he comes to me. These gentlemen have learned perfectly to adapt to the tempo. Next to them the Lutherans and Reformed have their congregations and churches here, the latter are the most numerous here. On Sundays we meet all of them, coming to and fro, but it does not mean anything.

The Separatists live here like birds sitting in the midst of seeds. Whoever is punished for something or other by the members of his denomination . . . , becomes a Separatist immediately, and if anybody starts talking about Religion or salvation, it is their common confession to mock at Preachers and denominations. Their children proceed one step further, they become Epicureans, Atheists, or pagans, or whatever you want to call them. Dear Friend, think of the unlimited freedom, think of the unfathomable wickedness of Adam's offspring, consider the narrow path of life and the mortification of the flesh and you will understand in what great dangers we are concerning our children. As far as sects go it is not especially dangerous here any longer, but Alas, the Indifferentism [the indifference toward religion] increases like a cancerous growth and infiltrates among the old and the young. They say, I want to preserve my freedom, and then they add one link to the other until the end of the chain is firmly fixed in the rock of atheism. . . .

36. A Plan for the Maintenance of a School among us Schwenkfelders, written March 1, 1764.*

The signers put up a fund for the salary of a schoolmaster in the following way : the signers loan a sum to the Trustees of the School-house who are yet to be named. The five percent interest earned on this sum is to be used for the school for a period of sixteen years. It is hoped that those who will be blessed with temporal goods in the meantime and who will also recognize the importance of this matter, will replace the first signers. However, if this should not happen at the end of this period, the present creditors should not withdraw their loan until others are willing and wealthy enough, because the fund should be by no means dissolved unless, to our knowledge, a definite wrong should result from this procedure. As far as all other matters are concerned, equity should be the judge between us, and such sponsors of the fund who or whose heirs should become poor will be duly considered and released if not by anybody else at least by the signers.

[27 signers, total fund £520.]

* Abraham Cassel Collection, Miscellaneous, Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pa. Original in German.

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